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Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

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JULY-AUGUST, 1878.

I.

THE FAILURE OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.

In different times and countries, patriotism has different work to do. For the last two or three centuries its business has usually been the bridling of tyrants, the dethroning of arbitrary kings and the setting up of constitutional ones, or the getting rid of kings altogether; in short, the extension of popular liberties at the expense of the wearers of crowns and bearers of sceptres. Going farther back, we see another state of things. Toward the end of the middle ages we find the relations of kings and peoples the reverse of what they afterward became. We find oppression divided and diffused in the persons of a multitude of feudal tyrants, and the masses looking to their sovereign as a protector. The feudal oppressor was both his enemy and theirs, and the progress of monarchical centralization was in the interest both of prince and peasant. It was not until feudalism was prostrate that the masses ceased to bless their sovereign as a friend, and began to curse him as a tyrant.

Still farther back in the centuries we find feudalism itself acting a part which could not have been spared in the reorganization of society. The foe of one generation is the friend of another, and there is scarcely a form of government so bad that it has not, at some time, prevented a worse or prepared for a better.

It is but lately, then, that crowns and sceptres have been denounced as enemies of the rights of man; but the war against them has been waged so hotly, and has left such vigorous traditions behind it, that the same battle-cry is still raised in quarters where the foe has been driven off the field and utterly annihilated; where the present danger is not above but beneath, and where the real tyrant is organized ignorance, led by unscrupulous craft, and marching, amid the applause of fools, under the flag of equal rights. One might be better employed than in hooting and throwing stones at the ghost of dead and buried privilege. But the amusement is safe and popular. Habit has made it second nature, and it gives excellent occasion for the display of oratorical fireworks. The transfer of sovereignty to the people, and the whole people, is proclaimed the panacea of political and social ills, and we are but rarely reminded that popular sovereignty has evils of its own, against which patriotism may exercise itself to better purpose. Here and there one hears a whisper that perhaps the masses have not learned how to use their power; but the whisper is greeted with obloquy.

We speak, of course, of our own country, where no royalty is left to fear, except the many-headed one that bears the name of Demos, with its portentous concourse of courtiers, sycophants, and panders. Those who live on its favors, and pretend most devotion to it, have been heard of late warning us to beware, and telling us that Demos is a "dangerous beast," whose caprices it behooves us to humor, lest he should turn and rend us. Far be it from us to echo this treason. Let others call him beast: we are his subject, and will but touch with reverence a few flaws in his armor.

Once he was a reasonable and sensible monarch, who had a notion of good government, and ruled himself and his realm with wisdom and moderation; but prosperity has a little turned his head, and hordes of native and foreign barbarians, all armed with the ballot, have so bewildered him that he begins to lose his wits and forget his kingcraft.

When a king makes himself oppressive to any considerable part of his subjects, it is not worth while to consider whether he wears one head or millions; whether he sits enthroned in the palace of his ancestors, or smokes his pipe in a filthy ward-room

among blackguards like himself. Nevertheless, if we are to be oppressed, we would rather the oppressor were clean, and, if we are to be robbed, we like to be robbed with civility. Demos is a Protean monarch, and can put on many shapes. He can be benign, imposing, or terrible; but of late we have oftener seen him under his baser manifestations, keeping vile company, and doing his best to shake our loyalty by strange, unkingly pranks. The worst things about him are his courtiers, who in great part are a disreputable crew, abject flatterers, vicious counselors, and greedy plunderers; behind their master in morals, and in most things else but cunning. If the politicians would let him alone, Demos would be the exact embodiment of the average intelligence and worth of a great people; but, deluded and perverted as he is, he falls below this mark, and passes for worse than his real self. Yet, supposing that his evil counselors were all exterminated as they deserve, it would avail us little, for he would soon choose others like them, under the influence of notions which, of late, have got the better of his former good sense. He is the master, and can do what he will. He is answerable for all, and, if he is ill-served, he has nobody to blame but himself. In fact, he is jealous of his nobles, and, like certain other kings before him, loves to raise his barber, his butcher, and his scullion, to places of power. They yield him divine honor, proclaim him infallible as the pope, and call his voice the voice of God; yet they befool and cheat him not the less. He is the type of collective folly as well as wisdom, collective ignorance as well as knowledge, and collective frailty as well as strength. In short, he is utterly mortal, and must rise or fall as he is faithful or false to the great laws that regulate the destinies of men.

A generation or more ago, a cry of "Eureka!" rose over all the land, or rather over all the northern part of it. It was the triumphant acclaim of a nation hailing its king. The enthusiasm had its focus in New England, at that time, perhaps, the most successful democracy on earth—a fact which, however, was mainly to be ascribed to wholesome traditions, which had become part of the popular life. These the jubilants overlooked, and saw the fountain of all political and social blessings in the beneficent sway of an absolute Demos; that is to say, in the uncurbed exercise of the "inalienable right" of man to govern himself. A little cloud,

no bigger than a man's hand, rose presently above the sea, the herald of an invasion of peasants. With this in-pouring of labor came railroads, factories, and a thousand prolific industries, which heads without hands could not have awakened or sustained. Population increased, wealth grew apace; men became rabid in making money, and women frivolous in spending it. The same influences were at work through all the Northern States. A vast industrial development, an immense prosperity, rested safely for a while on the old national traditions, love of country, respect for law, and the habit of self-government. Then began the inevitable strain. Crowded cities, where the irresponsible and ignorant were numerically equal, or more than equal, to the rest, and where the weakest and most worthless was a match, by his vote, for the wisest and best; bloated wealth and envious poverty; a tinseled civilization above, and a discontented proletariat beneath—all these have broken rudely upon the dreams of equal brotherhood once cherished by those who made their wish the father of their thought, and fancied that this favored land formed an exception to the universal laws of human nature. They cried out for elevating the masses, but the masses have sunk lower. They called for the diffusion of wealth, but wealth has gathered into more numerous and portentous accumulations. Two enemies, unknown before, have risen like spirits of darkness on our social and political horizon—an ignorant proletariat and a half-taught plutocracy. Between lie the classes, happily still numerous and strong, in whom rests our salvation.

To these we must look for the sterling ability and worth of the nation, sometimes in wealth, now and then in poverty; but for the most part in neither the one nor the other. They are the natural enemies of the vulgar plutocrat, and the natural friends of all that is best in the popular heart; but, as they neither flatter, lie, nor bribe, they have little power over these barbarians of civilization that form the substratum of great industrial communities.

Liberty was the watchword of our fathers, and so it is of ourselves. But, in their hearts, the masses of the nation cherish desires not only different from it, but inconsistent with it. They want equality more than they want liberty. Now, there is a factitious inequality and a real and intrinsic one. Rank, titles,

privileges, and wealth, make up the first; and character, ability, and culture, the second. Excepting only the distinctions of wealth, we have abolished the artificial inequality, and now we are doing what we can to abolish the real one. Vaguely and half unconsciously, but every day more and more, the masses hug the flattering illusion that one man is essentially about as good as another. They will not deny that there is great difference in the quality of horses or dogs, but they refuse to see it in their own genus. A jockey may be a democrat in the street, but he is sure to be an aristocrat in the stable. And yet the essential difference between man and man is incomparably greater than that between horse and horse, or dog and dog; though, being chiefly below the surface, the general eye can hardly see it.

Mountains and mole-hills, deserts and fertile valleys, and all the universal inequality of Nature, are but types of inequality in men. To level the outward world would turn it into barrenness, and to level human minds to one stature would make them barren as well. The history of the progress of mankind is the history of its leading minds. The masses, left to themselves, are hardly capable of progress, except material progress, and even that imperfectly. Through the long course of history, a few men, to be counted by scores or by tens, have planted in the world the germs of a growth whose beneficent vitality has extended itself through all succeeding ages; and any one of these men outweighs in value to mankind myriads of nobles, citizens, and peasants, who have fought or toiled in their generation, and then rotted into oblivion. Condé used to say that a thousand frogs were not worth one salmon. The saying, as he meant it, was false, but there is a sense in which it is true, though it tells the truth but feebly and imperfectly.

The highest man may comprehend the lowest, but the lowest can no more comprehend the highest than if he belonged to another order of beings, as for some purposes he practically does. A single human mind may engender thoughts which the combined efforts of millions of lower intelligences cannot conceive. This is not the faith of Demos. In his vague way, he fancies that aggregated ignorance and weakness will bear the fruits of wisdom. He begins to think that science, thought, and study, are old-time illusions; that everybody has a right to form his own

opinion as to whether the world is round or flat, and that the votes of the majority ought to settle the question.

We have said that intrinsic equality is inconsistent with liberty. It is so because, in order to produce it, very unequal opportunities of development must be granted to different kinds of mind and character, and an even distributive justice refused to human nature. The highest must be repressed and the lowest stimulated in order to produce a level average. In such an attempt no political or social system can completely succeed; but in so far as it tends this way it is false and pernicious. If it could succeed, or approach to success, it would be an outrage upon humanity. Asiatic despotisms have done so as nearly, perhaps, as is possible; but the Amuraths and Bajazets will hardly be thought fit examples for emulation. Democracy can no more succeed in producing a level than they did, but it can do prodigious mischief by trying to produce one. It may pretend that it is only "leveling upward," but this phrase of pleasing sound means leveling downward also; for, if the lower strata of humanity are raised as high as their nature and the inexorable conditions of human life will permit, there will still be no equality till the upper strata are pushed down to meet them.

A society where liberty was complete, and where all men had equal opportunities of development, according to their several qualities, would show immense diversities of all kinds; like the vegetable world, where the tallest trees and the humblest shrubs, plants climbing and crawling, poisonous and wholesome, all grow out of the same soil and are formed of the same essential elements. So the essential elements of human nature are the same, but mixed in such different proportion, and controlled by such different tendencies, that they often result less in resemblances than in contrasts.

Shall we look for an ideal society in that which tends to a barren average and a weary uniformity, treats men like cattle, counts them by the head, and gives them a vote apiece without asking whether or not they have the sense to use it; or in that which recognizes the inherent differences between man and man, gives the preponderance of power to character and intelligence, yet removes artificial barriers, keeps circulation free through all its parts, and rewards merit wherever it appears with added in-

fluence? This, of course, is a mere idea, never to be fully realized; but it makes vast difference at what a republic aims, and whether it builds on numbers or on worth. The methods by which it tries to reach its mark may be more or less effective, but it is all-important that the mark should be a true one.

The success of an experiment of indiscriminate suffrage hangs on the question whether the better part of the community is able to outweigh the worse. There are certain social conditions, rarely to be found except in small communities and a civilization not the most advanced, in which this question may be answered confidently in the affirmative; but, as numbers, wealth, and luxury increase, the difficulty grows with them. It is aggravated by the fact, generally acknowledged by those most competent to judge of it, that intellectual development and high civilization are not favorable to fecundity, so that the unintelligent classes, except when in actual destitution, multiply faster than those above them. Thus the power of ignorance tends to increase, or rather the power of the knaves who are always at hand to use it.

A New England village of the olden time—that is to say, of some forty years ago—would have been safely and well governed by the votes of every man in it; but, now that the village has grown into a populous city, with its factories and workshops, its acres of tenement-houses, and thousands and ten thousands of restless workmen, foreigners for the most part, to whom liberty means license and politics means plunder, to whom the public good is nothing and their own most trivial interests everything, who love the country for what they can get out of it, and whose ears are open to the promptings of every rascally agitator, the case is completely changed, and universal suffrage becomes a questionable blessing. Still we are told it is an inalienable right. Suppose for an instant that it were so, wild as the supposition is. The community has rights as well as the individual, and it has also duties. It is both its right and its duty to provide good government for itself, and, the moment the vote of any person or class of persons becomes an obstacle to its doing so, this person or class forfeits the right to vote; for, where the rights of a part clash with the rights of the whole, the former must give way.

When a man has not sense to comprehend the questions at issue, know a bad candidate from a good one, or see his own true

interests—when he cares not a farthing for the general good, and will sell his vote for a dollar—when, by a native instinct, he throws up his cap at the claptrap declamation of some lying knave, and turns with indifference or dislike from the voice of honesty and reason—then his vote becomes a public pest. Somebody uses him, and profits by him. Probably it is a demagogue, possibly a priest, or possibly both. In any case, it is folly to call him a free agent. His inalienable right may perhaps be valuable to him for the bribe he gets out of it; but it makes him a nuisance and a danger to the state. It causes pulpit, platform, and press, to condone his vices, and debauch the moral sense of the people by discovering objects of sympathy in vagabonds, thieves, and ruffians. It gives power to the communistic attack on property, and makes it difficult to deal with outbreaks of brutal violence against which even humanity itself demands measures of the most stern and exemplary repression.

Universal suffrage, imposed upon the country by the rivalries of contending parties bidding against each other for votes, has since been promoted into a "principle," regarded by many persons as almost sacred. This so-called principle, however, is by no means of universal application, and, when applied in the wrong place, at once reduces itself to absurdity. Distribute ballot-boxes among the subjects of King John of Abyssinia or those of the Khan of Kelat, and set them to govern themselves by the full exercise of their inalienable rights, and our panacea would result in anarchy. Universal suffrage is applicable only to those peoples, if such there are, who by character and training are prepared for it; and the only rational question is as to the degree of preparation that will serve the purpose. In any case, preparation must be the work of time. There must be hereditary traditions of self-government. Universal suffrage exists in some European nations, and exists along with a high degree of civilization and prosperity; but in these the traditions and material forces of a centralized government are extremely strong, and the evils of an ignorant or vicious vote are held in check by powers of resistance which are unknown here. Yet even in these countries the final results of the experiment are, and well may be, the objects of deep anxiety.

We are told that, to make a bad voter a good one, we have

only to educate him. His defect, however, is not merely intellectual. It consists also in the want of the feeling that his own interests are connected with those of the community, and in the weakness or absence of the sense of moral and political duty. The evil is not to be cured by reading, writing, and arithmetic. The public school may cram his brain with all it is capable of containing, and he will be no whit the better citizen for the process. It might train instead of cramming him, lay the foundation of a sound morality, and teach him something of political and social duty; but such education is more difficult than that now in vogue, and demands more judgment and ability in those who conduct it. To teach the teacher must be the first step; and here, as in everything else connected with public education, we find ourselves moving in a vicious circle. To whom have we intrusted these high and delicate interests? They demand the best intelligence and the best conscience of the community; and yet their control rests, in the last resort, with legislatures and municipal bodies representing in part that very public which needs education the most—wretched, wire-pulling demagogues, ignorant as the constituencies that chose them, reckless of public duty, and without the faintest notion of what true education is. In such education rests the only hope of democracies; but it is vain to look for it unless the wiser half of the public can regain its virtual control.

The results thus far of our present style of popular education are not flattering. That portion of young America which has sprung from humble and ignorant parentage ought to show its effects most conspicuously; but it may be doubted whether, as a general rule, the young Irish-American is a better or safer citizen than his parent from Cork. He can read; but he reads nothing but sensation stories and scandalous picture-papers, which fill him with preposterous notions, and would enfeeble a stronger brain than his and debauch a sounder conscience. He is generally less industrious than his sire, and equally careless of the public good.

Those who bray loudest for inalienable rights extol the ballot as an education in itself, capable of making good citizens out of the poorest material. Under certain conditions, there is a measure of truth in this. An untaught and reckless voter, enveloped by honest and rational ones, is apt to change greatly for the bet-

ter; but, to this end, it is essential that those whom the ballot is to educate should be segregated and surrounded by healthy influences. When extensive districts and, notably, large portions of populous cities are filled by masses of imported ignorance and hereditary ineptitude, the whole ferments together till the evil grows insufferable. The ballot then educates only to mischief. If the voter has a conscience, he votes it away. His teacher is a demagogue who plays on his prejudices or his greed, and out of a bad citizen makes him a worse. Witness the municipal corruptions of New York, and the monstrosities of negro rule in South Carolina.

It is said that vigilance is the price of liberty; but it has another condition no less essential. It demands moderation. It must stand on the firm ground, avoid rash theorizing and sweeping generalization, and follow the laws of development that reason and experience point out. It must build its future on its past. When it rushes deliriously after dazzling abstractions, it is rushing toward its ruin. In short, it must be practical, not in the vile sense in which that word is used by political sharpers, but in the sense in which it is used by thoughtful and high-minded men.

There is an illusion, or a superstition, among us respecting the ballot. The means are confounded with the end. Good government is the end, and the ballot is worthless except so far as it helps to reach this end. Any reasonable man would willingly renounce his privilege of dropping a piece of paper into a box, provided that good government were assured to him and his descendants.

The champions of indiscriminate suffrage—such of them, that is, as deign to give reasons for their faith—point in triumph to the prosperity which the country has enjoyed till within the last few years, and proclaim it a result of the unlimited power of the masses. This prosperity, however, had been founded and half built up before the muddy tide of ignorance rolled in upon us. It rests on the institutions and habits bequeathed to us by our fathers; and, if until lately the superstructure has continued to rise, it is in spite of a debased suffrage, and not in consequence of it. With still more confidence, and more apparent reason, we are told to look at the great popular uprising of the civil war. Here, indeed, democracy revealed itself in its grandest aspect.

The degrading elements had not then reached the volume and force that they have reached to-day. The issue was definite and distinct. The Union was to be saved, and popular government vindicated. There were no doubts and no complications. Victory meant national integrity, and defeat meant national disintegration. Above all, the cause had its visible emblem—the national flag; and thousands and hundreds of thousands of eyes were turned upon it in ardent and loving devotion. We heard a great deal at that time about "thinking bayonets." The bayonets did not think, nor did those who carried them. They did what was more to the purpose—they felt. The emergency did not call for thought, but for faith and courage, and both were there in abundance. The political reptiles hid away, or pretended to change their nature, and for a time the malarious air was purged as by a thunder-storm. Peace brought a change. Questions intricate and difficult, demanding brains more than hearts, and discretion more than valor, took the place of the simple alternative, to be or not to be. The lion had had his turn, and now the fox, the jackal, and the wolf, took theirs. Every sly political trickster, whom the storm had awed into obscurity, now found his opportunity. The reptiles crawled out again, multiplied, and infested caucuses, conventions, and Congress. But the people were the saddest spectacle; the same people that had shown itself so heroic in the hour of military trial were now perplexed, bewildered, tossed between sense and folly, right and wrong, taking advice of mountebanks, and swallowing their filthy nostrums. The head of Demos was as giddy as his heart had been strong.

But why descant on evils past cure? Indiscriminate suffrage is an accomplished fact, and cannot be undone. Then why not accept it, look on the bright side, and hope that, "somehow or other," all will be well in the end? Because the recognition of an evil must go before its cure, and because there is too much already of the futile optimism that turns wishes into beliefs, and discourses in every tone of sickly commonplace about popular rights and universal brotherhood. Beneath it all lies an anxious sense of present and approaching evil. Still the case is not yet desperate. The country is full of recuperative force, latent just now, and kept so by the easy and apathetic good-nature which so strangely marks our people. This is not the quality by which

liberty is won and kept, and yet popular orators and preachers do their best to perpetuate it. Prominent among obstacles to reform is this weary twaddle of the optimists.

It is well to be reminded how far we have sundered ourselves from the only true foundation of republics—intelligence and worth. The evil is not to be cured by hiding it, turning away our eyes from it, or pretending that it is a blessing. If it is to be overcome, it must be first looked in the face. All nations have in them some element of decay. Systems and peoples have perished, and not one was ever saved by shutting the eyes and murmuring that all was for the best. Faith without reason will only beguile us to destruction, and Liberty may elope while we are bragging most of her favors. We believe that our present evils are not past cure, and that, if the sound and rational part of the people can be made to feel that the public wounds need surgery, they will find means of applying it.

Under what shape shall we look for deliverance? It is easy to say where we need not look for it. To dream of a king would be ridiculous. We might set up an oligarchy, or rather an oligarchy might set up itself; but it would be one made up of the "boss," the "railroad king," and the bonanza Crœsus—a tyranny detestable and degrading as that of the rankest democracy, with which it would be in league. The low politician is the accomplice of the low plutocrat, and the low voter is the ready tool of both. There are those who call on imperialism to help us; but, supposing this heroic cure to be possible, we should rue the day that brought us to it. Our emperor would be nothing but a demagogue on a throne, forced to conciliate the masses by giving efficacy to their worst desires.

There is no hope but in purging and strengthening the republic. The remedy must be slow, not rash and revolutionary. A debased and irresponsible suffrage is at the bottom of the evil, but the state is sick of diseases that do not directly and immediately spring from this source. Something is due to the detestable maxim that to the victor belong the spoils, and the fatuity that makes office the reward of party service, demands incessant rotation, dismisses the servant of the public as soon as he has learned to serve it well, prefers the interests of needy politicians to the interests of the whole people, sets a premium on trickery and dis-

courages faithful industry. When the scraps and marrow-bones of office are flung down to be scrambled for, the dogs are sure to get the lion's share.

Never was there a more damning allegation against popular government than was made unwittingly by the popularity-loving Governor of a certain State, who, talking for reform in one breath and against it in the next, said in substance that good administration might be expected in monarchies, but that with us the conduct of public affairs is in the hands of the people, and that to complain of bad civil service is to arraign democracy itself. Let us emulate this worthy gentleman: sit in smiling and serene despair, banish reflection, and drift placidly down the tide, fishing as we go. It is thus that republics are brought to their ruin. What the times need are convictions, and the courage to enforce them. The hope lies in an organized and determined effort to rouse the better half of the people to a sense that honest and trained capacity, in our public service, is essential to our well-being, and that the present odious and contemptible system is kept up in the interest of the few, and not of the whole. There is much, too, in the organization of legislative and municipal bodies which might be changed in the interest of honesty against knavery, and of ability against artifice, without involving any attack against "inalienable rights." Yet, so long as a debased suffrage retains its present power for mischief, the snake is scotched, not killed. When a majority of the people become convinced that no aggregate of folly can produce sense, and no aggregate of worthlessness can produce honesty, and when they return to the ancient faith that sense and honesty are essential to good government, then it will become possible—not, perhaps, peaceably to abolish a debased suffrage—but to counteract and so far neutralize it that it may serve as a safety-valve and cease to be a danger.

There are prophets of evil who see in the disorders that involve us the precursors of speedy ruin; but complete disruption and anarchy are, we may hope, still far off, thanks to an immense vitality and an inherited conservative strength. The immediate question is this: Is the nation in the way of keeping its lofty promise, realizing its sublime possibilities, advancing the best interests of humanity, and helping to ennoble and not vulgarize the world? Who dares answer that it is?

Great fault is found with men of education and social position, because they withdraw from public life and abandon the field to men half taught and *sans aveu*. Tried by the standard of ideal perfection they ought, for the good of the country, to sacrifice inclination, peace, and emolument, go down into the arena, and jostle with the rest in the scrub-race of American politics, even if victory brings them no prize which they greatly care to win. Such men we have. Those who to-day save our politics from absolute discredit do so, in one degree or another, at a personal sacrifice. If the conflicts and the rewards of public life have something to attract them, they have also a great deal to repel. They enter a career where the arts of political management are of more avail than knowledge, training, and real ability; or, in other words, where the politician carries the day and not the statesman; where fitness for a high place is not the essential condition of reaching it, and where success must often be bought by compliances repugnant to them. The public service is paid neither by profit nor by honor, except such profit and honor as those best fitted to serve the public hold in slight account. It is only in the highest walks of political life that honor is to be found at all. For the rest, it might almost be said that he who enters them throws on himself the burden of proof to show that he is an honest man. More and more, we drift into the condition of those unhappy countries where "the post of honor is a private station;" and perhaps at this moment there is no civilized nation on earth of which this saying holds more true.

Out of this springs a double evil: bad government first, and then an increasing difficulty in regaining a good one. Good government cannot be maintained or restored unless the instructed and developed intellect of the country is in good degree united with political habits and experience. The present tendency is to divorce it from them; and this process of separation, begun long ago, is moving on now more rapidly than ever. Within a generation the quality of public men has sunk conspicuously. The masses have grown impatient of personal eminence, and look for leaders as nearly as may be like themselves. Young men of the best promise have almost ceased to regard politics as a career. This is not from want of patriotism. When the Union was in danger there were none who hastened to its defense with more

ardent and devoted gallantry, rejoicing to serve their country in a field where it was to be served by manhood and not by trickery. Peace came, they sheathed their swords, and were private citizens again. They would die in the public service, but they would not live in it.

In fact, the people did not want them there. The qualities of the most highly gifted and highly cultivated are discarded for cheaper qualities, which are easier of popular comprehension, and which do not excite jealousy. Therefore the strongest incentive to youthful ambition, the hope of political fame, is felt least by those who, for the good of the country, ought to feel it most. The natural results follow. A century ago three millions of people produced the wise, considerate, and temperate statesmanship on which our nationality is built. Now we are forty millions, and what sort of statesmanship these forty millions produce let the records of Congress show. The germs of good statesmanship are among us in abundance, but they are not developed, and, under our present system and in the present temper of our people, they cannot be developed. The conditions of human greatness are difficult to trace, but one thing is reasonably sure: it will not grow where it is not wanted. It may be found in a republic that demands the service of its best and ablest, but not in one that prefers indifferent service of indifferent men, and pleases itself with the notion that this is democratic equality.

The irrepressible optimist, who discovers in every disease of the state a blessing in disguise, will say that eminent abilities are unnecessary in democracies. We commend him to a short study of the recent doings of Congress, and, if this cannot dispel his illusion, his case is beyond hope. This same illusion, in one shape or another, is wide-spread through all the realm of Demos, where we sometimes hear the value of personal eminence of any kind openly called in question, on the ground that the object of popular government is the good of the many and not of the few. This is true, but it remains to ask what the good of the many requires. It does not require that the qualities most essential to the conduct of national affairs should be dwarfed and weakened; but that they should be developed to the utmost, not merely as a condition of good government, but because they are an education to the whole people. To admire a brazen demagogue sinks the

masses, and to admire a patriot statesman elevates them. Example is better than schooling; and, if average humanity is encouraged in the belief that there is nobody essentially much above itself, it will not rise above its own level. A low standard means low achievement. In every one of the strata into which civilized society must of necessity be divided there are men capable of a higher place, and it is injustice to those whom Nature has so favored not to show them the heights to which they may aspire. What they do see clearly enough are the factitious heights of wealth and office; what they need also to see are those of human nature in its loftiest growth.

A nation is judged by its best products. To stand in the foremost rank, it must give to the human race great types of manhood, and add new thought to the treasury of the world. No extent of territory, no growth of population, no material prosperity, no average of intelligence, will ever be accepted as substitutes. They may excite fear, wonder, or even a kind of admiration, but they will never win or deserve the highest place.

Our civilization is weak in the head, though the body is robust and full of life. With all the practical vigor and diffused intelligence of the American people, our cultivated class is inferior to that of the leading countries of Europe; for not only does the sovereign Demos think he can do without it, but he is totally unable to distinguish the sham education from the real one. The favorite of his heart is that deplorable political failure, the "self-made man," whom he delights to honor, and to whom he confides the most perplexed and delicate interests, in full faith that, if he cannot unravel them, then nobody else can. He thinks that he must needs be a person of peculiar merit and unequaled vigor. His idea of what constitutes him is somewhat singular. He commends as self-made the man who picks up a half education at hap-hazard; but if, no matter with what exertion, he makes use of systematic and effective methods of training and instructing himself, then, in the view of Demos, he is self-made no longer.

The truth is, liberal education is at a prodigious disadvantage among us. In its nature it is only the beginning of a process that should continue through life; of a growth that will bear its fruit only in the fullness of time. Of what avail to nurse and enrich the young tree, if its after-years are to be spent in a soil

and climate hostile or at least unfavorable to it? We do not say this in despondency, but simply to illustrate the position and its necessities. Amid the morbid leveling of the times, few signs are so hopeful as the growing strength of the higher education; but it is well to recognize with what it has to contend. In the platitudes of democratic society two counter-influences are apparent—the one a curse, and the other a blessing: First, those sudden upheavals of accumulated wealth which break with sinister portent that broad distribution of property which once formed our safety; and, secondly, this recent reënforcement of trained intelligence. Each confronts the other; for culture is no friend of vulgar wealth, and most of the mountains of gold and silver we have lately seen are in the keeping of those who are very ill fitted to turn them to the profit of civilization.

But culture—to use that inadequate word for want of a better—has, as we have said, to contend with formidable difficulties. The lower forms of ambition among us are stimulated to the utmost. The prizes held before them are enormous. The faculties that lead to money-making, and those that lead to political notoriety as distinguished from political eminence, have every opportunity and every incentive. Ability, poor and obscure, may hope to win untold wealth, rule over mines, railroads, and cities, and mount to all the glories of official station. As a consequence, we have an abundance of rich men and an abundance of clever politicians. Again, we would not be misunderstood. We have no wish to declaim against self-made men. There are those among them who deserve the highest respect and the warmest gratitude. If rarely themselves on the highest pinnacle of civilization, they are generally the sources, immediate or remote, from which our best civilization springs. Yet there are achievements to which they are equal only in exceptional cases. We have had but one Franklin; and even that great man had failings from which different influences would have delivered him. Nor was Franklin a product of democracy full-fledged.

While the faculties that win material success are spurred to the utmost, and urged to their strongest development, those that find their exercise in the higher fields of thought and action are far from being so. For the minds that mere wealth and mere notoriety cannot satisfy, the inducements are weak and the diffi-

culties great. The slow but ominous transfer of power from superior to inferior types of men, as shown in city councils, legislatures, and Congress, has told with withering effect on the growth of true political ability. Debased as our politics are, they do not invite, and hardly even admit, the higher and stronger faculties to a part in them. Liberal education is robbed of its best continuance and consummation, in so far as it is shut out from that noblest field of human effort, the direction of affairs of state; that career of combined thought and action where all the forces of the mind are called forth, and of which the objects and results are to those of the average American politician what the discoveries and inventions of applied science are to the legerdemain of a street juggler. The professions still remain open, and in these comparatively limited fields the results are good. Literature offers another field; but here the temptation is powerful to write or speak down to the level of that vast average of education which makes the largest returns in profit and celebrity. The best literature we have has followed the natural law and sprung up in two or three places where educated intelligence had reached a point high enough to promise it a favorable hearing. For the rest, our writers address themselves to an audience so much accustomed to light food that they have no stomach for the strong. The public demand has its effect, too, on the pulpit. It is pleasanter to tell the hearer what he likes to hear than to tell him what he needs; and the love of popularity is not confined to the laity.

From one point of view, the higher education is of no great use among us. It is not necessary to make a millionaire, a party leader, such as our party leaders are, or a popular preacher or writer. So little is it needed for such purposes, that the country is full of so-called "practical men," who cry out against it in scorn. Yet, from a true point of view, it is of supreme use and necessity, and a deep responsibility rests on those who direct it. What shall be its aims? Literature, scholarship, and physical science, are all of importance; but, considered in themselves, their place is subordinate, for they cannot alone meet the requirements of the times. It has been said that liberal culture tends to separate men from the nation at large, and form them into a class apart; and, without doubt, this is to a certain degree true of the merely æsthetic, literary, or scholastic culture. What we most need is a broad and masculine education, bearing on questions of society

and government; not repelling from active life, but preparing for it and impelling toward it. The discipline of the university should be a training for the arena; and, within the past few years, no little progress has been made in this direction.

Some half a century ago, a few devoted men began what seemed a desperate crusade against a tremendous national evil. American slavery has now passed into history. It died a death of violence, to our shame be it said; for the nation had not virtue, temperance, and wisdom enough, to abolish it peacefully and harmlessly; but it is dead. We would not compare the agitation against it to the far more complex and less animating movement by which alone our present evils can be met and checked. Conviction and enthusiasm, with very little besides, served the purpose of the abolition agitators. Their appeal was to sentiment and conscience, not to reason; and their work demanded a kind of men very different from those demanded by the work of political regeneration. The champion of the new reform will need no whit less enthusiasm, but it must be tempered with judgment and armed with knowledge. One idea will not serve him. He must have many, all tending to one end; an integrity that can neither be tempted nor ensnared, and a courage that nothing can shake.

Here, then, is a career worthy of the best, and demanding the best, for none but they can grapple with the complicated mischiefs of our politics. Those gallant youths, and others such as they, who were so ready to lay down life for their country, may here find a strife more difficult, and not less honorable. If there is virtue in them for an effort so arduous, then it is folly to despair. If a depraved political system sets them aside in favor of meaner men, and denies them the career to which the best interests of the nation call them, then let them attack this depraved system, and, in so doing, make a career of their own. The low politician is not a noble foe, but he is strong and dangerous enough to make it manly to fight him; and the cause of his adversary is the cause of the people, did they but know it; or at least of that part of the people that is worth the name. No doubt, the strife is strangely unequal; for on one side are ranged all the forces of self-interest, always present and always active; and on the other only duty and patriotism. But if the virtue and reason of the nation can be as well organized as its folly and knavery are or-

ganized to-day, a new hope will rise upon us, and they who can achieve such a result will not lack their reward. The "literary feller" may yet make himself a practical force, and, in presence of the public opinion which he has evoked, the scurvy crew who delight to gibe at him may be compelled to disguise themselves in garments of unwonted decency.

It is in the cities that the diseases of the body politic are gathered to a head, and it is here that the need of attacking them is most urgent. Here the dangerous classes are most numerous and strong, and the effects of flinging the suffrage to the mob are most disastrous. Here the barbarism that we have armed and organized stands ready to overwhelm us. Our cities have become a prey. Where the carcass is, the vultures gather together. The industrious are taxed to feed the idle, and offices are distributed to perpetuate abuses and keep knaves in power. Some of our city councils, where every ward sends its representatives, each according to its nature, offer a curious and instructive spectacle; for here one sees men of mind and character striving for honest government under vast and ever-increasing difficulties, mingled with vicious boors in whose faces brute, knave, and fool, contend which shall write his mark most vilely.

The theory of inalienable rights becomes an outrage to justice and common-sense, when it hands over great municipal corporations, the property of those who hold stock in them, to the keeping of greedy and irresponsible crowds controlled by adventurers as reckless as themselves, whose object is nothing but plunder. But the question is not one of politics; it is one of business, and political rights, inalienable or otherwise, are not in any true sense involved in it. The city which can so reorganize itself that those who supply the means of supporting it shall have the chief control over their expenditure, will lead the way in abolishing an anomaly as ridiculous as it is odious, and give an impulse to its own prosperity which will impel other cities to follow its example. That better class of citizens who have abandoned civic affairs in disgust, will gradually return and acquire in municipal administration a training which may avail them afterward in wider fields. The reform of cities would be a long and hopeful step toward the reform of the States and the nation.

FRANCIS PARKMAN.

II.

INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES.

The obligations which every state is under to every other state are determined by those general principles which the community of civilized nations have adopted by usage or consent, express or implied, as the rules governing their relations. They are, of course, in all cases modified by the conventional stipulations which may exist between any two or more of them. The law of nations, as accepted by any state, becomes a part of its municipal institutions; and when a portion of a country secedes or separates itself from the other parts, forming a new state or independent community, it must be understood to retain the rules which the whole country had recognized in its international relations. This is emphatically so as regards treaties in which the other contracting parties have an interest.

When we assumed our place among the nations of the world, England, though she had had many treaties in which a different rule prevailed, regarded as the consuetudinary law the doctrine of the *Consolato del Mare*, which gave immunity to neutral property on board of an enemy's ship, but confiscated the property of an enemy on board a neutral ship. Indeed, it was not long before the war of the American Revolution that the rule according immunity to enemy's property in neutral vessels came into vogue, it being advocated by Hubner, the champion of the rights of neutrals, whose book, "De la Saisie des Batimens Neutres," appeared in 1759; while Vattel's work, published about the same period, was the *vade-mecum* of international law, both for Englishmen and Americans, till the appearance of Wheaton's "Elements." Vattel maintained that, "if we find enemy's effects on board a neutral ship, we seize them by the right of war." *

* I have now before me an edition in English of Vattel, printed in Northampton,

Though our prize tribunals followed, during the Revolutionary War, the rules of the British court of admiralty, the treaty of 1778 adopted, as between us and France, the rule that free ships should make free goods; and no treaty has been concluded by the United States adopting a different principle, except that of 1794 with Great Britain, which expired before the War of 1812. The maxim "free ships free goods" has, however, been attached to different rules respecting the property of neutrals in enemy's vessels. The Supreme Court of the United States decided that the treaty of 1795 with Spain, which made "free ships free goods," did not necessarily carry with it the maxim, "enemy ships enemy goods." The embarrassments arising from a different rule as to the two belligerents, when one of the contracting parties is at war with a third power and the other neutral, induced, in 1819, a change in the treaty, to the effect that the flag of the neutral should only cover the property of an enemy whose government acknowledged the principle. The rule thus modified has since been applied in our treaties with the American states, and in other cases.

It was before the recognition of our independence by the mother-country that the famous declaration of armed neutrality, bearing date the 20th of February, 1780, was issued by the Empress of Russia. The terms of it, as communicated to the courts of London, Versailles, and Madrid, were:

1. That all neutral vessels may freely trade from one port to another, and upon the coasts of nations at war.

2. That the goods belonging to the subjects of the powers at war shall be free in neutral vessels, except contraband articles.*

3. That the empress, as to contraband goods, bound herself by what is mentioned in the tenth and eleventh articles of her treaty of 1766 with Great Britain, extending these obligations to all powers at war.†

4. That, to determine what is meant by the blockade of a port,

Massachusetts, in 1805, which was used as a class-book in the sophomore class of Columbia College in 1815.

* It may be noted that the "declaration" is silent as to neutral goods in enemy's ships.

† The treaty restricts contraband to munitions of war, such as cannon, mortars, etc., as enumerated therein, none of which, except *selles et brides*, belong even to the category of articles *ancipitis usus*.

the term shall be confined to places where there is evident danger of entering, from the arrangements of the power which is attacking it, with vessels stationary and sufficiently near.

The incident which gave rise to the measure was that two Russian vessels, laden with corn and bound for the Mediterranean, were seized by Spanish cruisers, on the ground that they were intended to supply the fortress of Gibraltar.

Spain was among the first to commend the principles of the "declaration," making restitution, and pleading the arbitrary conduct of England as her excuse. The proposition also met the earnest approval of the other European parties to the war against Great Britain (France and the Netherlands), and formed the subject of the convention between Russia and Denmark, of the 9th of July, 1780, to which Sweden acceded, constituting the first confederation of armed neutrality. By this treaty the Baltic was declared to be a *mare clausum* against the ships-of-war of the belligerent parties.

The United States acceded to the principles of the "declaration" of the Empress Catharine II., by an ordinance of the old Congress, of the date of the 7th of April, 1781.

"It is a remarkable historical fact," says Bluntschli, "that the first declaration of armed neutrality of 1780 was promulgated at the epoch of the Anglo-American War. According to the English point of view, this war was a civil war. As no state, with the exception of France, had acknowledged the insurgent colonies as a new state, the war had only as yet, in the eyes of the other neutral states, the character of a civil war. Though France and Spain were then likewise engaged in the contest with England, America, however, was the principal theatre of the war, and the neutral powers, Russia, Prussia, Austria, Portugal, etc., meant clearly to apply their declaration of neutrality to the American colonies, or, as they were in fact, to the United States of America. All the neutral states recognized in them a belligerent power, if not a new state, definitively established. There existed thenceforward a neutrality of the European states, not only with regard to two foreign independent states, but as to two parties engaged in a civil war" (Bluntschli, "Revue de Droit International," tome ii., p. 467).

During the wars of the French Revolution all the belligerent powers not only discarded in practice the principle of the armed

neutrality, but even those maxims of international law by which the rights of neutral commerce in time of war had been previously regulated. Russia made common cause with Great Britain and with Prussia to induce the other parties to the armed neutrality convention, Denmark and Sweden, to renounce all intercourse with France.

In the further progress of the war between England and France, Russia, however, revived her doctrine of neutrality. A new confederacy between Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, was formed in 1800, to which Prussia gave her adhesion; but, under the pressure of the maritime power of England, the league was dissolved and its principles expressly relinquished by Russia in the convention signed at St. Petersburg, in 1801, between her and Great Britain, and which was subsequently acceded to by Denmark and Sweden. In 1807, in consequence of the stipulations contained in the Treaty of Tilsit, between Russia and France, a declaration was issued by the Russian court, in which the principles of the armed neutrality were proclaimed anew, and the convention of 1801 was annulled by the Emperor Alexander. In 1812 a treaty of alliance against France was signed by Great Britain and Russia; but no convention affecting the freedom of neutral commerce and navigation has been since concluded between these two powers, unless we refer to their being parties to the Declaration of Paris of 1856.

The treaty of 1785, between the United States and Prussia, and which is the first that provides for the immunity of private property at sea, was of the most liberal character. The operation of its peculiar provisions was, however, suspended by the treaty of 1799, in consequence of the then political state of Europe; but they were reinstated in the treaty of 1828.

All Americans may revert with pride to the manner in which our foreign relations were conducted at the outset of the wars of the French Revolution. Besides the violation of our acknowledged rights by both the contending belligerents, for which neither offered any other apology than the fact of the infliction on us of similar injuries by its enemy, there were intrinsic difficulties in the maintenance of an impartial neutrality, arising from the discordant, if not incompatible, character of the obligations existing on our part to France and England respectively. The

treaty with France, which commenced by stipulating exemption from belligerent capture of enemy's goods in neutral ships, was in many respects at variance with the rules which we had accepted from England as governing the consuetudinary law of nations, while by the treaty of 1794, which was subsequent to the President's proclamation of neutrality, we gave to the English interpretation of international obligations a conventional sanction.

There are many things which may be done by a neutral in war which have the appearance of equality, but in their operation may have a different effect on the conflicting interests of the belligerents. A neutral country may, without breach of neutrality, permit both belligerents to equip vessels in its ports. Even without any previous stipulation with either party, the ports of a neutral may be closed or kept open to the prizes of both. It is competent for a nation to stipulate, during a period of peace, to give in war privileges to one party exclusively: thus, by the treaty of 1778, with France, it was declared that it should be lawful for the ships-of-war of either of the contracting parties and privateers to carry whithersoever they please the ships and goods taken from their enemies, while no access shall be given to the ships-of-war or privateers of their enemies, except when forced in by stress of weather.

The proclamation, which bears date the 22d of April, 1793, announces the existence of war between Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, Great Britain, and the United Netherlands, on the one part, and France on the other. It was accompanied by general instructions from the Treasury Department, intended, among other things, to secure to France her treaty-rights, while nothing beyond this should be conceded; and it declares what France (so far as it affected her) regarded as a violation of her treaty with us, that no armed vessel which has been or shall be originally fitted out in any port of the United States, by either of the parties at war, is thereafter to have asylum in any district of the United States. No privateer of the powers at war with France can enjoy any other privilege than that of purchasing victuals sufficient to go to the next port of the prince or state from which it has its commission.

Though the French prizes were brought into our ports, and were, therefore, in a certain sense, within our power, it was

not, besides the danger we incurred from France, an easy task for our Government to comply with the demands for restitution. Nice questions were raised as to the respective powers of the executive and judiciary. President Washington did not, however, rest his course as to a foreign nation on any technical ground not defensible under the law of nations; but it was only through the exercise, by our admiralty courts, of a jurisdiction, for which Sir Travers Twiss says no English precedent can be found since the time of Sir Lionel Jenkins, that the restitution was effected. Such an exercise of power by our courts was confessedly an exception to the general rule, that the trial of captures on the high-seas belongs exclusively to the courts of the nation of the captors. Our courts, however, held, and they continue to hold, that if the capture be made within the territorial limits of a neutral country into which the prize is brought, or by a privateer which has been illegally equipped in such neutral country, the prize courts of that country not only possess the power, but it is their duty, to restore the property to the owner. This was done to the private claimant, though the propriety of that course, without the intervention of his government, has been, with apparent reason, questioned by Judge Story. Not only was restitution made where the prizes were within our territory, whenever that could be done without involving us in a conflict with France, but, where it could not, compensation was made by us to England under the treaty of 1794.

That Mr. Jefferson's course was in no wise actuated by any predilection in favor of one or the other belligerent parties, is quite apparent from the correspondence at the time between him and the English and French ministers to this country. The grievance of which we had specially to complain was, besides the illegal captures, the institution of consular French courts in the United States.

Mr. Jefferson, Secretary of State, writing to Mr. Hammond, British minister, under date of May 15, 1793, after stating that an alleged condemnation of a British prize by the French consul at Charleston was a legal nullity, and can make no part in the title of a vessel, though it was an act of disrespect toward the United States, asserts that the purchase of arms and military accoutrements by an agent of the French Government, in this coun-

try, with an intent to export them to France, is permitted by the law of nations:

"It" (the law of nations) "is satisfied with the external penalty pronounced by the President's proclamation—that of confiscation of such portion of these arms as shall fall into the hands of any of the belligerents on the way to the ports of their enemies. To this penalty our citizens are warned that they will be abandoned.

"The capture of the British ship George by the French frigate L'Embuscade has, on inquiry, been found to have taken place within the bay of Delaware and jurisdiction of the United States. The Government is, therefore, taking measures for the liberation of the crew and restitution of the ship and cargo.

"It condemns, in the highest degree, the conduct of any of our citizens who may personally engage in committing hostilities at sea against any of the nations, parties to the present war, and will exert all the means with which the laws and Constitution have armed them to discover such as offend herein, and bring them to condign punishment.

"The practice of commissioning, equipping, and manning vessels in our ports to cruise on any of the belligerent parties is equally and entirely disapproved; and the Government will take effectual measures to prevent a repetition of it."

In a note from Mr. Jefferson to M. Genet, minister of France, dated August 7, 1793, it is said:

"I have it in charge to inform you that the President considers the United States as bound, pursuant to positive assurances given in conformity to the laws of neutrality, to effectuate the restoration of or to make compensation for prizes which shall have been made of any of the parties at war with France, subsequently to the fifth day of June last, by privateers fitted out of our ports.

"That it is consequently expected that you will cause restitution to be made of all prizes taken and brought into our ports subsequent to the above-mentioned day, by such privateers; in defect of which, the President considers it as incumbent upon the United States to indemnify the owners of those prizes, the indemnification to be reimbursed by the French nation."

In a note to Mr. Hammond, dated September 5, 1793, and which was subsequently annexed to the treaty of 1794, Mr. Jefferson says:

"Having for particular reasons forborne to use all the *measures in our power* for the restitution of the three vessels mentioned in my letter of August 7th, the President thought it incumbent on the United States to make compensation for them; and, though nothing was said in that letter of other vessels taken under like circumstances, and brought in after the date of that letter, the President determined that all the means in our power should be used for their restitution. If these fail us, as we should not be bound by our treaties to make compensation to the other powers, in the analogous case, he did not mean to give an opinion that it ought to be done to Great Britain. But still, if any cases shall arise subsequent to that date, the circumstances of which shall place them on similar grounds with those before it, the President would think compensation equally incumbent on the United States" (Jefferson's Works, vol. iii., pp. 229, 265, 285).

By Art. VII. of the treaty of 19th of November, 1794 (Jay's treaty)—

"It is agreed that in all such cases where restitution shall not have been made agreeably to the tenor of the letter from Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Hammond, dated at Philadelphia, September 5, 1793, a copy of which is annexed to this treaty, the complaints of the parties shall be, and hereby are, referred to the commissioners to be appointed by virtue of this article, who are hereby authorized and required to proceed in like manner relative to these as to the other cases committed to them" (United States Statutes at Large, vol. viii., p. 121).

"While in the early part of the present century," says our most learned living jurist, "the political department of the American Government was engaged in steadily combating the overstrained constructions of the law of maritime war, set up by the courts and publicists of England, it is remarkable that not a few of the most exceptionable of those constructions were at the same time being transported, one by one, into our own jurisprudence by the judicial department of our Government, with a prevailing tendency to exaggerate the rights of prize in the interest of captors, that is, of maritime depredation."

Indeed, the Supreme Court, in a case growing out of the War of 1812, declared that, as the United States at one time formed a component part of the British Empire, their law was, as understood at the time of the separation, the prize law of the United

States, though no recent rules of the British courts were entitled to more respect than those of other countries; yet that, where there were no reasons to the contrary, they should regard the decisions of the English courts of admiralty (Cranch's Reports, vol. ix., p. 191. Thirty Hogsheads of Sugar *vs.* Boyle).

Recurring to the different systems as understood previously to the Crimean War, it was very evident that if two nations situated like England and France, one possessing the largest military marine in the world, and the other a navy only inferior to that of its ally, were, as co-belligerents, each to maintain its own peculiar principles of maritime law, neutral commerce must altogether cease. A compromise of principles was necessary to the coöperation of the navies of the allies.

Accordingly, on occasion of the commencement of the war against Russia, the ministers of England and France communicated to the American Secretary of State the "declaration" of March 28, 1854. By it England waived the right of seizing enemy's property on board of a neutral vessel unless it be contraband of war, and France made a similar concession with respect to neutral property laden on board of an enemy's vessel.

Russia, when her war with Turkey extended to England and France, promulgated decrees declaring that enemy's goods would be regarded as inviolable, and might be imported into Russia, and the property of neutral powers on board of enemy's ships would not be subject to confiscation except articles contraband of war, "the carrying of which," it says, "would render even a neutral vessel a good prize." So greatly were the laws of war mitigated that, with the single exception of carrying enemy's goods in enemy's vessels, the trade, such as it ordinarily exists in time of peace, could scarcely have been said to be interrupted.

The formulating, at the termination of the war, by the parties to it of the principles announced at its commencement, was anticipated by a treaty between the United States and Russia of July 22, 1854. The principles of free ships, free goods, and freedom of neutral property in an enemy's vessel from capture and confiscation, except it be contraband of war, were established, with a view to their adoption as permanent and immutable. It proposed the accession of all nations who might assent to them. That of Prussia was already given by her existing treaty.

The declaration of the Congress of Paris, besides the articles in reference to the immunity of the cargo of an enemy, when not contraband of war under a neutral flag, and neutral property under an enemy's flag, adopted the principle of blockade substantially as given in the Russian declaration of neutrality.

The first article of the declaration of 1856 proclaims that "privateering is and remains abolished."

Adopted without being accompanied by any provision according immunity to private property at sea, it would apparently operate to the exclusive advantage of the great naval powers, particularly England, who would, in the event of a war, have at their mercy the entire merchant marine of their enemies, while their own would be unmolested.

The possibility of such a state of things was, of course, sufficient to prevent the sanction of the proposition by our sagacious Secretary of State, Mr. Marcy, unless the views which induced the provisions in the treaty with Prussia as drawn by Dr. Franklin, and the propositions subsequently made to England, France, and Russia, by Mr. J. Q. Adams when Secretary of State, were carried out to their full intent, and property at sea placed on the footing of immunity which it was assumed that it possessed on land.

The obligation of the "declaration," even on the parties to it, was always very doubtful. On this point Sir Travers Twiss cites with approval the following passage from our last edition of Wheaton:

"The declaration is only a pledge on the part of the states adhering to it not to issue commissions for that purpose, and does not of itself create any new offense against the law of nations; while the admission of the Congress, made at the suggestion of the Russian plenipotentiary, that it would not be obligatory on the signers of the declaration to maintain the principle of the abolition of privateering against those which did not accede to it, received a practical construction in the course adopted by England and France, and other countries in their declarations with respect to the pending contest in America" (Twiss, "Duties and Rights in Time of War," p. 423).

It soon appeared that all apprehensions that the abolition of privateering was to work any change in the relative power of

maritime nations was without reason. In former times, France was in the habit of carrying on her wars with vessels furnished by the merchants, and there was nothing in the "declaration" to prevent its being done by other nations. An act of Congress in 1863 authorized letters of marque and reprisal, but no commissions were issued. The United States had, however, an opportunity of manifesting to the authors of the "declaration" how utterly inefficient it ever must be in suppressing the maritime resources of an enemy. With the regular navy, the United States would have been utterly incapable of blockading the Southern coast. It was effected by extending to operations at sea the same system of a volunteer establishment as they had on land.

At the commencement of the war privateers were fitted out by the Confederates; but experience showing the disabilities to which they were exposed in foreign ports, as compared with public ships-of-war, the system was soon discontinued, and the Alabama and the other cruisers—for whose depredations Great Britain was made answerable—claimed the rights of public ships-of-war, and were commanded by officers commissioned by the Confederate States.

The suggestion furnished by the course of the United States in supplementing her regular by a volunteer navy was followed by Prussia during the Franco-German War of 1870. She invited ship-owners to lend their ships for the war, for a remuneration. The crews were to be hired by the owners, but were "to enter the Federal navy for the continuance of the war, wear its uniform, acknowledge its competency, and take oath to the articles of war." In case these ships destroyed or captured ships of the enemy, certain premiums were to be paid to the owners for distribution among the crews. The French Government complained to Lord Granville about this decree, alleging that it was, under a disguised form, the reëstablishment of privateering; but Lord Granville, after consulting the then law officers—Sir Travers Twiss, Sir R. Collier, and Sir John Coleridge—replied:

"They advise me that there are, in their opinion, substantial differences between the proposed naval volunteer force sanctioned by the Prussian Government and the system of privateering which, under the designation of 'la course,' the Declaration of Paris was

intended to suppress, and that her Majesty's Government cannot object to the decree of the Prussian Government as infringing the Declaration of Paris" (*Solicitor's Journal*, vol. xxii., p. 523).

My illustrious colleague of the Institute of International Law, Bluntschli, has well shown that the suppression of privateering does not mean the renunciation of the voluntary service of the citizens of a country—or even of foreigners—in maritime war.

"Nothing," he adds, "prevents a state from forming a body of volunteers to be employed as a part of the auxiliary force of its army; so a maritime nation may, with entire propriety, reënforce its fleet by adding vessels previously employed in commerce. An appeal may even be made to all the forces of the nation—to a sort of naval *Landsturm*—in appealing to all the maritime resources of the nation to combat the enemy. The characteristic difference—and which is the reason for rejecting privateering—is, that it is not militarily organized, that it does not carry on a contest of power against power, but it is a contest of individual against individual" (Bluntschli, "Revue de Droit International," vol. ix., p. 552).

If it might be supposed in the War of the Crimea that the civilized nations of the world had reached that point at which wars become solely contests involving the opposing military forces of the states, leaving private individuals to conduct their own affairs unaffected by them, it was not so as to the War of Secession.

It is true that civil wars are calculated to affect the passions of men to a degree which does not exist in foreign wars. I have now before me a letter from the late Mr. Justice Nelson, dated August 4, 1873, respecting a judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States in a case which relates to breach of blockade, for which, as being rendered in violation of the law of nations, compensation was made under the late mixed British and American Commission:

"The truth is," he said, "the feeling of the country was deep and strong against England, and the judges, as individual citizens, were no exception to this feeling. As to the feeling of hostility to England at the time, Judge Black told me that, after my dissenting opinion was read, one of the most eminent members of the bar had said to him that 'the delivery of it was the greatest mistake of my life.' Now," added Judge Nelson, "that the passions and prejudices

of the hour had passed away, there are not, or cannot be, two different opinions in that case."

One of the great principles established at the Congress of Westphalia, of which the admission into the fraternity of nations of the Swiss cantons and the Republic of the Netherlands was an illustration, and the independence of the American colonies, both North and South, a corollary, was that when communities, from whatever source deriving their origin, have attained such a degree of force as to give to them the consistency of states, they are entitled to be regarded as governments *de facto*, and those who constitute them to be considered citizens, not rebels, and that, for all international purposes, a government *de facto* is a government *de jure*. Nor is it necessary, in order to formulate this proposition, to go beyond that text-book, a translation of which, I presume, is to be found in every law library in the country.

"Civil war," says Vattel, "breaks the bonds of society and of the government; it gives rise in a nation to two independent parties, who acknowledge no common judge. They are in the position of two nations who engage in disputes, and, not being able to reconcile them, have recourse to arms. The common laws of war are in civil wars to be observed on both sides."

Neither the Executive nor Congress, at the commencement of the difficulties with the South, seem to have distinguished between municipal and belligerent rights, nor as to the different jurisdictions by which they were to be enforced. The first act passed by Congress was drawn by the then Secretary of the Treasury, and was entitled "An act to provide for the collection of duties on imports and other purposes." It was intended, Mr. Cushing tells us, to have been substituted for the blockade and other Executive measures that had been adopted during the recess of Congress. This would have been done, had it not been for what he calls—

"the unwise and unreasonable intimations from foreign ministers, that, whatever may be the law as to the parties engaged in the hostilities, it can never be considered that, in such a contest, neutrals are to be placed under disabilities and their commerce subjected to restrictions to which they would not be liable in a public war between two foreign powers."

According to the eminent lawyer to whom I have more than once referred, and who is understood to have been the confidential adviser of the Government during a great part of the war, President Lincoln contemplated something else than an ordinary blockade, and he admits that it is only in that way that it is possible to reconcile—

"the strenuous denial, on our part, of the existence, at the time, of such a state of belligerency between the United States and the insurgents as justified the recognition of them as belligerents by foreign powers, and the numerous acts of Congress asserting and regulating the continued exercise, notwithstanding the current hostilities, of the municipal sovereignty of the Government throughout the United States."

In the War of Secession, the captures of British vessels were usually made under the pretense of a breach of blockade. Vessels sailing with all the regular documents to a neutral port, were captured before their arrival at it, and condemned on the alleged ground that their ultimate destination was a blockaded port, thus pushing to the extreme the doctrine of "continuous voyages," based on the revival, during the wars of the French Revolution, of the rule of 1756. It was against this pretension that Mr. Madison's most elaborate paper, "Examination of the British doctrine, which subjects to capture a neutral trade not open in time of peace," was directed.

The application of the law of blockade to vessels, seized at the moment of their departure from a neutral port bound for another neutral port, however remote it might be from a blockaded port, on the mere suspicion that their cargoes, after having been discharged at a neutral port, might be transhipped for a blockaded port or otherwise placed at the disposition of the enemy, is totally opposed to the Declaration of Paris, which, by requiring a force before the blockaded port sufficient to effectually prevent ingress to it, indicates that it is only in the surrounding waters that the police of the blockade can be exercised. So far as that "declaration" goes, except as regards privateering, it has constantly had the sanction of the American Government. Indeed, President Buchanan insisted, as a condition to our accession to to the "declaration," upon the European powers recognizing still further the rights of neutrals and exempting from blockade all

commercial ports. The rule contended for during the War of Secession could never have existed, if the doctrine had been maintained, which required that a previous notice of the blockade should be given to every vessel—a doctrine sustained by the publicists of the Continent, and to the time of our civil war ever contended for by the United States, who have, moreover, repeatedly given to it the sanction of treaties, including that of 1794 with England. It was our rule during the war with Mexico, and, however it may since have been disregarded by the tribunals, it was likewise declared to be the rule by the proclamations of the President at the beginning of the civil war.

In the case of the Circassian (2 Wallace, p. 135), alluded to by Judge Nelson, in which the decision of the Supreme Court had been overruled by the mixed commission, her immediate destination was Havana, and she was captured on her direct course to that place, it being claimed that her ultimate destination was New Orleans. As the seizure was made hundreds of miles from that port, it is unnecessary to state that there had been no previous warning by the blockading squadron at New Orleans, as Mr. Seward had declared to Lord Lyons was the American rule. Moreover, there was no proof of any formal notification of the blockade to foreign governments which, it has sometimes been contended, rendered unnecessary the indorsement on the register. On the contrary, the fact was fully established in another case, that no such notice had ever at any time been given as to New Orleans (*see* Judge Nelson's opinion, in the Empress, "Blatchford's Prize Cases," p. 660).

This point, however, it was not necessary for the claimants in the Circassian to establish, inasmuch as the vessel was captured several days after the blockade had ceased to exist, by the occupation of New Orleans by the naval and military forces of the United States, and the restoration of the Federal authority, though even that fact did not avail them in the court of ultimate resort.

The most interesting question affecting the obligations of the parties during the War of Secession grew out of the reclamations of the United States in their character of belligerents against England, who, it was contended, had failed to fulfill her neutral obligations. That they had grounds of complaint would be im-

plied from the terms of the article of the Treaty of Washington of 1871, referring what was called the Alabama claims to a tribunal of arbitration.

Distinguished as were the members of the High Commission by whom the treaty was concluded, as well as the commissioners at Geneva, to whom the adjudication of these claims was referred, the value of the whole proceedings, as precedents in the public law of nations, is greatly impaired by the anomalous course prescribed to the arbitrators. They were to be governed by three rules which the parties had agreed upon as rules to be taken as applicable to the case, and by "such principles of international law not inconsistent therewith as the arbitrators shall determine to have been applicable to the case." The rules were:

"A neutral government is bound—1. To use due diligence to prevent the fitting out, arming, or equipping, within its jurisdiction, of any vessel which it has reasonable ground to believe is intended to cruise or carry on war against a power with which it is at peace; and also to use like diligence to prevent the departure from its jurisdiction of any vessel intended to cruise or carry on war as above, such vessel having been specially adapted, in whole or in part, within such jurisdiction to warlike use.

"2. Not to permit or suffer either belligerent to make use of its ports or waters as the base of naval operations against the other, or for the purpose of the renewal or augmentation of military supplies or arms or the recruitment of men.

"3. To exercise due diligence in its own waters, and, as to all persons within its jurisdiction, to prevent any violation of the foregoing obligations and duties."

While prescribing these rules, the British members of the High Commission caused a declaration to be inserted in the treaty, that "her Majesty's Government cannot assent to the foregoing rules as a statement of principles of international law, which were in force when the claims arose."

After the existence of the commission had been jeoparded by the conduct of the United States in presenting reclamations of a national character, and after these had been withdrawn in consequence of a declaration of the tribunal (somewhat out of the usual order of procedure) that these claims which had been termed "indirect claims" could not form the basis of a decree of indem-

nity, an award was made for the sum, which was deemed to be the aggregate value of the property destroyed by the Alabama and her consorts. This included the amount paid by the underwriters to the insured to whose rights they were supposed to be substituted.

The treaty, besides providing for the functions of the arbitrators, contained the further stipulation that "the high contracting parties agree to observe these rules as between themselves in future, to bring them to the knowledge of other maritime powers, and to invite them to accede to them." The last reference which we find to this matter, in the correspondence between the British and American Governments, is of the date of February 18, 1874, when

"Earl Granville closed the discussion by informing Sir Edward Thornton that he did not in the present circumstances think it desirable to protract the conversation with General Schenck."

From the papers laid before Parliament subsequently, it would appear that the provision of the treaty which requires the communication of the rules to other powers, asking their adoption of them, had not been carried into effect. This delay, it was alleged, arose from the apprehension that the stipulations of the second rule might be interpreted contrary to the acknowledged practice of the two contracting parties, especially in the Franco-German War, as a general prohibition of the sale of munitions of war by neutrals to belligerents.

The two parties were agreed that the rules should not be presented to foreign powers for their acceptance without an explanation which would prevent such a conclusion, and which would restrain their operation to those acts which are done for the service of a vessel cruising or carrying on war, or intending to cruise or carry on war against another belligerent; and that they should not extend to cases where military supplies or arms are exported for the use of a belligerent power from neutral ports or waters in the ordinary course of commerce. We are not aware of any attempt to renew the discussion since it was closed by Lord Granville in the manner above mentioned, no answer having been given to the resolution of the Senate, passed June 3d of this year, asking the President for the correspondence on the subject.

That such has been the fate of these rules we have no reason

to regret. The interpretation given to them by the Tribunal of Geneva would compel the United States to maintain, whenever we were neutrals, a naval police throughout the whole extent of our coasts, both on the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. "The due diligence, it was said, referred to in the first and third of said rules, ought to be exercised by neutral governments in exact proportion to the risks to which either of the belligerents may be exposed from a failure to fulfill the obligations on their part."

These rules, after being greatly modified by Bluntschli and other Continental jurists, received in 1875 the approval of a majority only of the members of the Institute present at the Hague. My own views, as communicated to the Secretary-General, M. Rolin-Jaequemyns, were substantially in accordance with those of Professor Lorimer, who declared that "the three rules of Washington, as well as the American and English foreign enlistment acts passed under the influence of the same ideas, are bad in theory and inapplicable in practice." Mountague Bernard and Sir Travers Twiss also opposed their adoption.

There is no question but that all kinds of contraband articles may be sold by a neutral, the belligerent running the risk of their being captured on the high-seas by the other belligerent. The sole question which has arisen has relation to ships-of-war or vessels to be employed as such, but it has been held by the Supreme Court of the United States, even under our neutrality acts, that a ship may be sent to a foreign market, like any other commodity, and sold to a belligerent. Though it is conceded that munitions of war may be sold in a neutral country to be used against a state at peace with it, and though a ship fitted out and equipped for war may be sent to seek a purchaser, it is contended that she cannot be sold at home to a belligerent. I have not been able to see any other ground on which to rest this distinction than that which was assumed by President Washington's Administration, and which connects itself with the well-recognized rule forbidding, in all cases, a neutral to permit his territory to be used as a base of hostile operations. It was against the use of the port, and not against the sale of ships, that the proclamation of 1793 was directed. It is from confounding the right to sell a ship-of-war in a neutral port with the equipment and dispatch from it of a hostile expedition that the difficulty has arisen.

The correspondence between the two governments after the Alabama escaped in 1862, interspersed with claims about premature recognition, was mainly taken up with the accounts of Mr. Adams's efforts to induce the English courts to carry into effect their own neutrality acts. It cannot but be deemed a matter of regret that we allowed ourselves to be drawn into the discussion whether the English laws had or had not been executed, thus apparently withdrawing the case from its only true test, the law of nations. Our course was the more inexpedient, as, contrary to the system which prevails in the United States, of confiding the execution of the neutrality acts, including that of 1818, to the admiralty courts, the English act of 1819, which was the law during the long-protracted case of the Alexandra, had given jurisdiction to the common-law courts. It was only under the act of 1870 that the change of jurisdiction has been effected.

I refrain from any minute discussion of the neutrality acts of either England or the United States, because they are not entitled to be considered otherwise than as municipal regulations which may be convenient modes of carrying into effect neutral obligations, but cannot, in any way, either limit or extend the law of nations applicable to the subject, and certainly cannot derogate from the right of sovereigns or from the immunity of ships-of-war in the ports of either country.

The impressions under which this article was commenced, that we might, in consequence of the hostilities then supposed likely to arise, from matters growing out of the situation of the Ottoman Empire, between Russia and England, be compelled to a close examination of our neutral duties, have at this time (June 13th), in a great degree, disappeared.

The arrival in our waters of a vessel under the German flag, having on board officers and men for the supposed purpose of manning vessels to be purchased in the United States as Russian ships-of-war, invited the attention at least of the public journals to the attitude in which we were now and might hereafter be placed toward England.

I would premise that I cannot conceive of the existence of any neutral duties when no war exists. Neutrality *ex vi termini* implies belligerency; and a breach of neutrality can only occur with regard to a matter arising during a war.

I don't know of any case, since England abandoned her practice of seizing foreign vessels in her ports during peace, under the impression that war might possibly thereafter arise, that the laws of war have been applied to a state of peace; and in those cases, when war did ensue, the property that had been taken was not condemned as prize of war but as *droits* of admiralty, which originally belonged to the lord high admiral.

The United States courts have always been scrupulous in recognizing the exterritoriality of public ships. In the case of the Exchange, reported in Cranch's "Reports" (vol. vii., pp. 135–147), the principle that a vessel bearing the flag and commission of a belligerent power was not within the local jurisdiction of the neutral law, though claimed by citizens of the neutral country as having been forcibly taken from them as prize contrary to international law, was fully upheld on appeal by the Supreme Court of the United States.

The exterritoriality of ships-of-war was discussed before the tribunal at Geneva, and in the judgments rendered by the several arbitrators; it being contended, on the part of Sir Alexander Cockburn, that it was an absolute right, while it was held by the other commissioners that it was founded on the principle of courtesy and mutual deference between different nations, and they contended that it could never be appealed to for the protection of an act done in violation of neutrality.

In the statement of Mr. Adams on this subject, it is said—

"On behalf of Great Britain it is claimed that the rule is perfectly established that a vessel belonging to any power, recognized as sovereign or as a belligerent, has in virtue of its commission a right to claim a reception and the privilege of exterritoriality, without regard to its antecedents, in the ports of every neutral power."

Mr. Adams proceeds to say:

"The authorities quoted to sustain this position sustain it as an established general rule. I see no reason to question it, but the question that has been raised in the present controversy is an exceptional one, which is not touched by these decisions."

Mr. Adams then argued that the vessels whose origin and conduct were discussed before the Geneva Tribunal were not

bona-fide foreign ships-of-war at all, and that the commissions held by them ought to have been regarded as nullities. He also considers the case on the hypothesis of their commissions having been real, but of these ships having abused the comity of England, and of their having been engaged in gross violation of the laws of Great Britain and of international law. He gives his opinion that, "by such fraudulent abuse of the comity of England by their setting at defiance England's laws within its own jurisdiction, the perpetrators of such conduct had not only forfeited all right to consideration, but had subjected themselves to the penalties of malefactors if ever they returned within the jurisdiction which they had insulted."

At all events, none of these exceptional considerations could arise in any matter growing out of the recent Russian proceedings. Indeed, the neutrality laws, neither of the United States nor England, contemplated any such cases. The American acts of 1794 and 1818 were directed to the operations of privateers fitted out by our own people—employed, in the first case, as privateers under French colors, and, in the second, by parties who were likewise our own citizens, availing themselves of commissions from insurgent governments of Spanish America. The English act of 1819 grew out of the wars of the Spanish-American colonies, and the demands of Spain on England to fulfill treaty stipulations. The provisions in the act of 1870, in reference to the building of ships, are confessedly not required by international law.

How can it be said that, for the violation of a municipal law alone, a neutral can seize a ship when it has become the property of a foreign government? If one sovereign gives offense to another, either directly or through his fleets or armies, the course of redress is, at first, to diplomatic representation, or, ultimately, if the grievance is of sufficient magnitude, by resort to war. No process can be issued in a court of admiralty or any municipal tribunal against a sovereign, his ships-of-war, or other property belonging to the state.

I am aware that the case of a steamer intended to be purchased on account of the German Government, which arose in 1849, is supposed to be inconsistent with the statement that the neutrality act cannot be applied to the public ships of a foreign

sovereign. This case was brought to general notice in a late number of the *Solicitor's Journal*, vol. xxii., page 550, referring to a note of Mr. Dana's edition of Wheaton, page 561, note 218. As the note is the same in substance, and has the same citations ("Annuaire de Deux Mondes," 1852–'53, page 485; "Congressional Documents Thirty-first Congress, First Session, House of Representatives, Executive Documents," No. 5) as note 38, page 95 of Lawrence's Wheaton, the case had not escaped my attention. On examining the "Congressional Documents," it will be seen that there is no attempt to apply a statute of the United States to the German Empire, or to exercise jurisdiction over a public ship of that country, but that the vessel in question never was a German ship-of-war, no title ever having passed out of the American owner. Nor was it intended that it should do so while the vessel remained in port. The Danish minister, in his note to the Secretary of State, April 2, 1849, says that a vessel had been bought for account of the central Government of Germany to be converted here into a war-steamer and fitted out as such, yet, "*under the express stipulation of retaining her American character until delivered in a German port, so as to have the protection of the American flag in crossing the ocean.*" In this view of the matter the American owner, who was the legal proprietor, as well as his vessel, might have been within the cognizance of the neutrality act; but its provisions would have had no effect as to a public ship-of-war of the German Empire, wherever built, which had been duly commissioned by the sovereign power of that country and bore its flag.

What was done, or intended to be done, in that case, was no violation of international law. If an offense at all, it was against the neutrality act—that is to say, the municipal law of the United States. The distinction should ever be kept in view that a breach of the municipal law, though it may be of a law relating to neutrality, does not constitute a breach of neutrality as between nations. That which, if done by a subject, would simply amount to a breach of his own law, does not become a violation of neutrality because done by a foreigner.

"How, then," said the present Lord Chief-Justice of England, "can it be said that for a violation of a municipal law alone a neutral can seize a vessel, in respect to which that law alone has been

violated, when it has become the property of the government of another state? No principle of the law of nations is more firmly settled or universally acknowledged than that an independent sovereign or government is not amenable to the municipal law of another country. All rights, all obligations, all duties, all liabilities, as between sovereign and sovereign, state and state, government and government, depend wholly and solely either on express convention or on the principles and rules of the common law of nations. How, then, in the matter of an infraction of the municipal law only, could a neutral state have recourse, as against a belligerent government, to the powers which that law gave it against its own subjects alone?" *

* In cases other than those affected by their neutrality laws, the United States have had occasion to consider the immunity from local jurisdiction of persons acting under the authority of a foreign sovereign or state. So early as 1794, the Attorney-General gave an opinion that it is a sufficient answer to a suit brought against a foreign functionary for seizing a vessel, as such functionary, that it was done by virtue of the powers vested in him by his government ("Opinions of Attorneys-General," vol. i., page 46, Collot's case). And in a subsequent case he held that "it is as well settled in the United States as in Great Britain, that a person acting under a commission from the sovereign of a foreign state is not amenable for what he does in pursuance of his commission to any judicial tribunal in the United States" (ibid., page 81).

Another instance, which excited great attention at the time, was the case, in 1840, of McLeod. He was charged with arson and murder, in connection with the capture and destruction of a steamboat employed by the Canadian insurgents, and for which, notwithstanding the act was avowed by the British Government, he was indicted in a New York court. The case occasioned not only a conflict between England and the United States, but one between the Federal and State governments, Mr. Seward, then Governor of New York, refusing to interfere. The acquittal by the jury ended that difficulty, against the return of which an act of Congress, transferring all such cases to the United States courts, was intended to guard in future.

William Beach Lawrence.

III.

AN ADVERTISEMENT FOR A NEW RELIGION.

Among our advanced thinkers two points are now happily settled beyond the need of further inquiry and the propriety of reconsideration. One is, that all the old religions, including Christianity, in one sense the best and in another the worst of them, are waxing old, and must soon die. Each of the creeds has had "its little day," as our Broad Church poet sings—little compared with the many and prolonged geological ages, or even with the myriads of years which have elapsed since the man-apes began to stand upright, and try to look up to heaven; but the ages of the past are merging into the future, as the dawn brightens into the day. First, fetichism had its day, probably a very long, prehistoric one, when men, just risen above monkeys, struggled to speak, and had an awe of earth-powers; then came the worship of the higher works of Nature—sun, moon, stars, and animals; then polytheism, which divided the complex one into many to give a power to each agent of Nature; next, or at the same time, hero-worship, with idolatry and carved images; then a pantheism on the rise of philosophy, and among the Hebrews the exaltation through national pride of a tribal god into a One God, supposed to rule over all the world; and finally an incarnate God, at once divine and human in Christianity. We now know that all these have been developed out of the rude ideas and wants of the human heart, and had their shape given them by the environment. Monotheism, too, has had varied forms, retaining so much of polytheism in its Virgin and angels and saints in the Romish Church, and military hero-worship in the faith which shouts every morning, "Allah! Allah! there is one God, and Mohammed is his prophet!" We can now thoroughly understand and explain all this on the grand new scientific principles of "natural selection" and "the struggle for existence." Lecky

has shown very skillfully, in his work on "Rationalism," that antiquated systems pass away—like old men—not because they have been attacked by argument, but simply because, like the races which have perished slowly in the geological ages, they are not fitted to the new circumstances, and cannot survive among the new ideas which have sprung up by spontaneous generation. In the struggle for existence, certain beliefs are cast off, and only those continue which can stand the new conditions. The Reformers undermined the faith of the Catholic Church, and Mr. Leslie Stephen has shown how the deistical writers of last century successfully undermined the strangely-mixed and incongruous faiths of the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures. Rationalism and Unitarianism have exposed so much of the weakness of the infallible Bible that shrewd men now see that all must go. The great thinkers of the last century and a half have been against the Bible:—Hume and Gibbon, and we may add Froude, among historians, fitted to examine evidence; Voltaire, Rousseau, Goethe, Saint-Beuve, and Matthew Arnold, among men of literary genius; while philosophers like Kant, Fichte, and Hegel, have looked coldly on inspiration; and Schopenhauer and Von Hartmann have shown how wretched a world this is; and our great *savants*, Laplace, Humboldt, Darwin, Huxley, and Tyndall, have set the Bible aside as not worthy of being looked at. Christianity, both in the form of Popery and Protestantism, has still roots fixed in the soil; but they are like those of the old oaks which I have seen in England, condemned as useless for ship-lumber in the days of Cromwell, with the top-branches dying and ready to be blown away by the first tempest moving on irresistibly to fill up the vacuum created by the burning up of old faiths.

A new era has dawned, more important than the ternary, when mammals appeared; or the quaternary, when man appeared. Great typical men have come forth, undermining not only revealed but natural religion,—it is now acknowledged that, when the Bible is gone, no rational religion can remain. Hume showed at one and the same time that there is no valid proof for the existence of God, as worlds may have come into being without a cause; and that a miracle cannot be proved, men being so liable to delusion in such matters. Kant confuted all the old and venerable arguments for the Divine existence, and was not very

successful in building up a new one by means of the practical reason; for, if the speculative reason may deceive in holding that every effect has a cause, why may not the practical reason also be delusive? Indeed, the practical reason, or conscience, is now shown by Bain and Darwin to be simply the product of circumstances and heredity. Comte has demonstrated that we cannot discover either first or final causes—the two dark caves from which all religions have issued, like wild beasts, and into which they retreat when pursued. Mr. J. S. Mill has admitted that, on the principle (which, however, has no evidence in its favor) of causation being universal, there may be some presumption in favor of the existence of a God; but then he proves that this God cannot be an omnipotent God, otherwise he would prevent the evil. Darwin has plucked from man's brow his claim that he was specially created by God and in God's image, and has demonstrated his derivation from the ascidian through the catarrhine monkey. Huxley, the great physiologist, has satisfied naturalists that man does not differ so much from the lower animals as they do from one another, or as one portion of mankind differs from another, and has found a physical basis of mind, in which latter point he has been followed by Lewes. Last of all, there has risen up in these times the highest development of all in one who combines in himself Locke, with his experience, and Kant, with his forms, and has explained all physical Nature by the persistence of force, and all life and mind by the interaction of internal and external relations. I need not say that I refer to Herbert Spencer.

But there is a second truth admitted with nearly equal unanimity—indeed, by all but a few conceited youths who have lately been talking very loudly. It is that man has religious instincts—is, in short, a religious animal, and must have some sort of worship. Hume used to go at times to church in Scotland, and labored to make the moderate ministers there, corresponding to the Unitarian ministers here, adopt a rational religion. Kant, the intellectual Samson, who brought down the temple upon others, but also on himself, left us no God speculatively, but then he called in the practical reason, with its corollaries, a conscience, a day of judgment, an immortality, and a God, and thus restored what he had taken away. We have all seen "*Deo erexit Voltaire*" on

the temple at Ferney, where nobody worships, plainly because the age is beyond deism, but has not yet reached the true religion. Rousseau is full of pious sentiment, and has pronounced the most beautiful eulogium ever uttered on Jesus of Nazareth, declaring that, while Socrates died as a man, Jesus died as a god. Comte had no god, but he had a Grand *Être* in collective humanity, and he had a priesthood and nine sacraments, and enjoined public honors to be paid to his deity, allowing no liberty of conscience or of education to any one. Huxley, as a member of the School Board in London, insists that the Bible be introduced into every school, as knowing that science does not tend to make men moral, and that the Bible, though full of error, is the only book fitted to form the character of the young. Tyndall is exceedingly indignant at those who would charge him with doing away with religion. "No atheistic reasoning," he says, "can, I hold, dislodge religion from the heart of man. Logic cannot deprive us of life, and religion is life to the religious. As an experience of consciousness, it is perfectly beyond the assaults of logic." Herbert Spencer has allotted a very spacious region to God and to religion, the Unknown and Unknowable, and commends the Athenians for erecting an altar to the unknown God.

It is a very interesting circumstance that there are little groups of advanced, truth-loving men and women, who meet for conference on the Sundays in London, and in New York, Chicago, and other enlightened cities. I have at times attended their meetings. At one of them, which I remember particularly, we had a very burning address from a man of genius, who had started as a Scotch Calvinist, and run through all modern forms of faith, and now believes in the Eternities, of whom, or of which, he discoursed in a glow surpassing that of the setting sun. He had evidently taken his faith and his language from Thomas Carlyle, who is one of the prophets of our own, and who believes in Force as a god, and gives him or it sufficient omnipotence, and ever flares up into the "immensities," and the "realities," and the "moralities," as does also our own Emerson. M. Renan, after showing that Jesus was tempted by the necessity of upholding his mission into imposture at the grave of Lazarus, tells us in the very strongest language that he has not cast

aside religion, but believes in an "eternal religion." In short, the great men who have risen like mountains in our world have all been profoundly religious; thus, to name some of them in their historical order: Socrates, Plato, Jesus of Nazareth, Bacon, Descartes, Newton, Spinoza, Leibnitz; and, in this last age, Herschel, Faraday, Mayer, and Henry.

Both these truths have been established by a large induction, going as far back as history and archæology can carry us. In reaching them there have, in the struggles for existence, been fearful conflicts between Science and Religion, of which Dr. Draper and President White have been the historians, altogether on our side. There have even been internal feuds in each of the hostile camps, both on the religious and the irreligious (so charged) sides. This we might expect, for the whole of cosmical action is carried on by the repulsions as well as attractions of molecules, and human history has to speak as much of war as of peace. Religions have had their dissensions, and so have positivists. Prof. Huxley has once and again used very irreverent language in speaking of our great system-builder, M. Comte. Replying to the Archbishop of York, he says:

"So far as I am concerned, the most reverend prelate might dialectically hew M. Comte in pieces, as a modern Agag, and I should not attempt to stay his hand. In so far as my study of what specially characterizes the Positive Philosophy has led me, I find therein little or nothing of any scientific value, and a great deal which is as thoroughly antogonistic to the very essence of science as anything in ultramontane Catholicism. In fact, M. Comte's philosophy in practice might be compendiously described as Catholicism *minus* Christianity."

But a far more painful attack has been made within the last few months on one of our very greatest men, who has for years past been acknowledged to be the greatest of our logicians—in fact, the special philosopher of his age. Prof. Jevons is so presumptuous as to speak thus of Mr. J. S. Mill:

"For about twenty years past I have been a more or less constant student of his books; during the last fourteen years I have been compelled, by the traditional requirements of the University of London, to make these works at least partially my text-books in

lecturing. Some ten years of study passed before I began to detect their fundamental unsoundness. . . . I will no longer consent to live silently under the incubus of bad logic and bad philosophy which Mill's works have laid upon us. . . . If to all his other qualities had been happily added logical accurateness, his writings would indeed have been a source of light for generations to come. But in one way or other Mill's intellect was wrecked. The cause of injury may have been the ruthless training which his father imposed upon him in tender years; it may have been Mill's own life-long attempt to reconcile a false empirical philosophy with conflicting truth. But, however it arose, Mill's mind was essentially illogical. . . . I undertake to show that there is hardly one of his more important and peculiar doctrines which he has not himself amply refuted."

I might quote pages of similar opprobrious language. There may be some truth in it as applied to Mill's formal logic, in which he has never been regarded as an adept. But he makes an equally strong attack on his inductive logic, which has commonly been regarded as perfect. He describes "Mill's mind as essentially illogical;" he speaks of "the perversity of his intellect;" declares that "the philosophy of the Mills, both father and son, is a false one;" and says of a certain paragraph that "it is likely to produce intellectual vertigo in the steadiest thinker." He disparages Mill's famous canons of induction, and affirms that he confounds both causation and induction. But all this dogmatism will not prevent Mr. Mill from surviving. Men will soon discover that Jevons's attempt to make logic mathematical is an entire failure. It is not a proper interpretation of the judgment "man dies," to put it in the form "man = some dying creatures." It is clear to me that, in the struggle for existence, Mills will long outlive Jevons.

As man must have a religion, and the old religions are sick, dying, or dead, so we must have a new-born religion. We cannot hasten the orderly but slow processes of Nature. A premature birth must produce a weakly child. Emerson says truly, in the last number of this REVIEW, "It does not yet appear what forms the religious feeling will take." So we are not able to describe fully what the new religion already in the womb is to be. But we can confidently affirm that it must obey certain conditions, and can specify some of the negative ones.

1. It cannot have a God living and personal. This would be pure, or rather very impure, anthropomorphism. In the philosophy of Plato, and in the Old and New Testaments, and the popular apprehension, man is supposed to be formed after the image of God; but the truth is, man has formed his god after his own image, quite as much so as when the old idolaters cut down a tree and made a man-god figure out of it. The old Greek philosopher Xenophanes satirically remarked that the Thracians gave blue eyes and the Ethiopians snub noses to their gods; so the Christians make their god hate what they hate, and denounce as sin and send all to hell who do not believe as they do. There can be no objections with Spencer to call the Unknown by the name of God, but then he must not be regarded as having properties that can be named, or even thought of,—the lofty Neoplatonists of Alexandria were right in making their god so high and pure that no predication could be made regarding him.

2. It cannot insist on a personal immortality to the soul. This would be bringing an Egyptian mummy of the days of the Pharaohs into a modern drawing-room. True, every object known is not only immortal, but eternal, as the doctrine of the conservation of force shows; and has existed in all past time, and shall exist forever—if there be a forever. But the individual soul is the product of the brain, and, when the brain is decomposed, the soul must dissolve with it into its material elements; and is really so insignificant that it is not transmuted into any other force. I am not aware that the soul of Shakespeare, or of Newton, when they died, added any weighable powers to the dust to which they returned.

3. There must be no terrors drawn from a day of judgment. These may frighten children, and men and women weak as children, but highly-developed men are beyond them, and look down with pity, not unmixed with contempt, on those who are swayed by them. True, there is a judgment set up in our world —one which pronounces terrible sentences that cannot be reversed. It is the struggle for existence, in which those not suited to the environment—the weak, the deaf, the blind, the decrepit, the negroes, the Indians—as being useless, must perish; and the strong, the healthy, the bold, especially evolutionists, will survive and advance the civilization of the world.

4. There can be no ghostly sanctions or motives derived from a supernatural power, or a world to come. The thinking portion of mankind have never been much swayed by considerations drawn from these regions above or below our ken. Any attempt to enforce them in this advanced age will be resisted by every man of independence.

5. Everything beyond what can be seen must be represented as unknown and unknowable. The Hebrews were right in saying that clouds and darkness cover the face of God's throne, and furnish a mystery fitted to awe us; and in that region, as in the heathen groves, religion may be allowed to dwell.

It is vastly more difficult, beforehand, to tell positively what the new religion is to be. Still the prophets of our own, and the priests who have charge of it, have given us certain characteristics. Mr. Mill has given us a description of the worship set up by Comte, though he is not prepared to adopt it: "Private adoration is to be addressed to collective Humanity in the persons of worthy individual representatives, who may be either living or dead, but must in all cases be women; for women, being the *sexe aimant*, represent the best attribute of humanity that ought to regulate all human life, nor can humanity possibly be represented in any form but of a woman. The objects of private adoration are the mother, the life, the daughter, representing severally the past, the present, and the future, and calling into active exercise the three social sentiments—veneration, attachment, and kindness. We are to regard them, whether dead or alive, as our guardian angels, *les vraies anges gardiens*. If the last have never existed, or if in the particular case any of the three types is too faulty for the office assigned it, their place may be supplied by some other type of womanly excellence, even by one merely historical." All who have benefited the race are to be the *Dii Minores* of this theology: and days might be set apart to Democritus and his atoms which made the world; and to Lucretius who expelled all superstitious fears; and Hobbes who derived all our ideas from sensation; not omitting Comte himself, who rid us of first and final cause. I do fear, however, that this religion will not survive in the struggle for existence. Some of Comte's followers speak of it as an evidence of his lunacy.

But there must, I suppose, be a worship of some kind, were it only to accommodate the religion to human nature, which wishes to have an outlet to, and expression of, its feelings. But this worship, as Huxley has profoundly remarked, must be "chiefly of the silent sort." Worship has, in fact, never had much influence on the life of the worshiper. Borrow tells of the gypsy mother who said to her child, "You may go and steal, now that you have said your prayers." Religious emotion is an ebullition which wastes the energy without doing much good. But this worship of the "silent sort" may have a quiet influence without anybody seeing it.

With Humanity as its god, the religion must have an immortality, after which all are striving. Mr. Harrison, the most spirit-stirring of our later prophets, has been lately developed to tell us what it is to be. It is not to be a personal immortality, but it is to be a continued life in a man's works. Thus Homer lives in the "Iliad." In like manner the orator lives in the words he has uttered; and the actor in the parts he has played; and the singer in the tunes he has sung; and the trumpeter in the vibrations he has started; and the ploughman in the earth he has turned up; and the fisherman in the fish he has caught; and the butcher in the cattle he has killed: and Mr. Harrison in the posthumous influence-theory in the "Symposium" of the *Nineteenth Century*. This leads me to remark how happy a thing it is that we have two such organs as the *Contemporary Review* and the *Nineteenth Century* to give the prophets of the new religion an opportunity of being heard by respectable people. I find that the old lady, the *Quarterly*, always "so dastardly," complains of this. We are the more dependent on these two young organs since the old fires of the *Westminster Review* have burned themselves out, and left, like the volcanoes in the moon, only extinct craters.

Along with this belief there might be *fêtes* and festivals to rival the grand Catholic ceremonies. There would be some kind of Sabbath, but removed as far as possible from the Jewish and the Puritan; and to distinguish it it might be called Sunday, that is the sun's day, and we might have it like the French Revolutionists, once in ten days, instead of seven. On these occasions there would be lectures of the true American type, developing the theory

of development, evolving man from the brute, and showing that he may rise higher than he has ever yet done, though it is to be hoped never incapable of marriage. There might be hymns in honor of the great mother Nature, more worthy to be revered than the Virgin. With this there might be idols representing in symbol the great world-powers, such as Evolution, Persistence of Force, Heredity, Panzoism, and Physiological Units. Around the places of worship there might be groves like those dedicated in old time to Baal, the powerful fire-god. There would be assemblies of males and females with Bacchantic dances, where time would be delightfully spent, and the remembrance of which would be pleasant—vastly more so than the dreary hours spent in our preaching and praying conventicles. It will take time to create the fitting sentiment; but time is an essential condition of all natural evolution, and we can give the new religion ten thousand years to develop. In the struggle for existence all other religions would disappear and this alone would remain, till it gave birth to something still higher: not more heavenly—that is, ideal; but more earthly—that is, real and practical.

But at this point we are met by a difficulty which we must meet if we can. Man, it is acknowledged, has religious instincts which cannot be destroyed, even by the terrible struggles for existence. Whence come they? How is it that they cannot be eradicated? We evolutionists tell religious men (so called) that they may give up their fears, for religion has its seat so deep in the soul that it cannot be dislodged. But our prophets assure us that the human soul is developed from the higher animals, and these from the lower, and that there is a physical basis underneath the whole. How or when have these indestructible instincts come in? If they have come in from without, we have here a very marked phenomenon of which the evolution hypotheses can make nothing, and which, our pietists will say, implies a supernatural power. But, if we are to bring in one thing independent of development, why not more? Why not free-will, with Dr. Carpenter? Why not reason and intelligence, with the metaphysicians—until we overwhelm the whole glorious theory, evidently seen to be insufficient? And if, on the other hand, it be merely a natural product then it should disappear in the struggle for existence like other superstitions. Already there are signs of its beginning to

vanish in this nineteenth century of the present religion, and it must evidently all be gone before the nineteen-hundredth century. I fear that this contradiction must for the present be allowed to remain with the antinomies of Kant which have undermined all rational cosmology. But then Hegel has shown that all truth is contradictory, and there will cast up a synthesis to bridge over the gap in the analysis.

This new religion must come. The conditions are ready. Just as life appeared when inanimate matter was ready for it, and sensation came and consciousness came when the nerves were woven, and intelligence came when the brain was fashioned for it: and as Abraham went forth, not knowing whither he went, to publish the unity of God; and the son of the carpenter, at Nazareth, came to preach altruism under the name of love; and as Luther started up, like the cock-crowing that sounded in the ears of Peter, to bring the Church to see its errors—so the new faith has now to come forth, as the sun does at his appointed time. The world is ready to receive it; and as paganism gave way before Christianity, and the superstitions of Romanism fled before the reading of the Bible, and as rationalism has undermined evangelism, with its faith in blood, so a new priest must come with his rod to swallow all the rods of the magicians. It must all come by development. A virgin must once more bring forth a child; and, that this can be done, is illustrated by the new established doçtrine of partheno-genesis. A variety will become settled into an unchangeable species, and will continue for ages, till it is superseded by something else, fitted to fight under the new conditions. "It doth not yet appear what we shall be." There have been anticipations, however, and the leapings of the babe in the womb. But there must be a time longer of struggle for existence, till the strongest assert its might (which of course is right)—as we see among cattle in the field, the stronger cow fighting till she gets her preëminence allowed. Rational theology has done good by its assaults on Scripture; but then it professed to accept so much of Scripture as is rational—as if any of it were rational. Pure deism has always been felt to be chill as death, and now its supposed proofs, and indeed all rational theology, have been undermined by Hume, Kant, and Mill. Unitarianism is dead, and lying in state in order to burial, and of the dead I

desire to speak *nil nisi bonum*, especially as Unitarianism has no longer any power over young men, while it has helped to develop the present crisis. Mormonism, the only new religion which has sprung up in our rather barren age, is very coarse and gross, and is a warning to us of what an unscientific faith may become. I fear that the butterfly, when it appears, may have somewhat of the slime of the grub from which it has been developed. All this shows the greater need of a new faith founded on the latest natural knowledge.

There is an urgent need for a new belief to come, and that speedily. If not soon forthcoming, there is a risk that our young folks rush into forbidden ground. We are at present in a transition state, which is a critical state; we are in danger of being crushed in a collision between two trains, one of which has come upon the other before it has started. Our sons claim that in prosecuting their rights they are just as much entitled to advance beyond their fathers as their fathers did beyond their sires. Encouraged, as they allege, by our example, they are waxing bold, not to say petulant. They laugh at the worship instituted by Comte, and will not attend our select conferences. They have no great awe, and no dread whatever in regard to the unknown of Spencer; if it can never be known, why should they either revere or fear it? Nay, they maintain philosophically that the *phenomenon* does not logically imply a *noumenon*, and so they are carried back to the old Hume positions of there being nothing but appearances without a thing appearing, and affirm that the *noumenon* is a remainder of an old, superstitious philosophy, brought in awkwardly by Kant, and sustained by Hamilton, Mansel, and Spencer, to save them from blank skepticism, and now ready to disappear like mist before the light of the rising day. They seem to be satisfied with the appearances, and to care nothing about the unknown thing. Darwin was religious enough to call in three or four germs created by God; but Tyndall insists that anthropomorphism, which is to be so avoided, "is as firmly associated with the creation of a few forms as of a multitude;" and Huxley has started a pregnant hypothesis of a supposed early stage of the star-dust, when it produced germs which it cannot now do. Huxley and Tyndall still resolutely oppose spontaneous generation; but Bastian comes after, and gets bacteria out of liquid

substances in which all the germs have been killed by heat. Men like Sir John Herschel used to point to the human eye as giving evidence in its numerous adaptations of design; but the great physicist of our day, Helmholtz, tells us that, if an optician brought him so blundering an instrument as the eye, he would return it to him. Tyndall thinks he can explain even mental action by matter, and, in his sweeping lecture at Birmingham, would persuade us that we are responsible in much the same sense as the dog; that a criminal is absolutely necessitated to act as he does, and that we are necessitated to punish him to prevent the recurrence of the offense, as we strike a dog to prevent him from stealing again. There may be some truth in all this, but it is dangerous to publish it, as it may tempt young men to get as many of the sweets of the bee as they can, if only they can keep from being exposed to its sting.

Aristotle maintained that "Nature abhors a vacuum." He was wrong in applying this to the rise of water in a tube, as was shown by Torricelli, but he uttered a profound truth notwithstanding. The heart must have something to cling to beyond a negation, of which no one can say whether it has or has not a meaning. If what is unknown could be known, there might be some hope and activity; but it is unknowable, and so no human interest can attach to it. My daughter when in London went to a Wesleyan meeting one part of the day, and to a Sunday lecture, by Huxley, on another part; and, strange as it may sound, she preferred the sincere shouting, the amens and groans of the Methodists to the worship of "the silent sort," in which there seemed to be no heart or adoration—except in the organ. A bright young lady, after listening for six weeks to lectures on "Humanity," declared that she would rather worship the Virgin, who seemed to have a loving heart, and whom she identified with the statues of her in Italy. Some of my lady friends have told me that when crossed in love they would prefer a nunnery to an Owen phalanstery or a communist settlement at Oneida. But our greatest anxiety is about the young men, our sons, who, of course, have been brought up without a Bible, and without prayer, public or private, and whose reading is in physiology male and female, and in books we have not been able to keep from them; and who go to theatres, which we freely allow, as

they are schools of virtue, and see the sort of company in the gallery and the boxes, and go home with some of them simply to know more of them. We honestly tell them to be honest, and obliging, and chaste—always according to our ideas, which are surely liberal enough. But they puzzle us with questions which we have difficulty enough in answering satisfactorily to them in their present unsettled temper. If Comte loved adoringly another woman than his wife, "why," they say, "may not we do the same? If Mr. Mill constantly associated in the tenderest manner with the druggist's wife in the absence of her husband, why may not we have the like privilege?" They remind us that these illustrious men have been teaching us that there must be a new relation between the sexes established, and have left it very doubtful what it should be, and our youths think they may experiment on the subject. They remind us that Bradlaugh and his lady associate have been quoting the authority of Mr. Mill for their books condemned by the law-courts. We used to claim that we freethinkers of this age were moral compared with the infidels of the days of Tom Paine; I fear that we can no longer make this boast. It is alleged that in circles affected with our views directly, and more frequently indirectly, there is a loose code which allows those who yield to animal affection to justify themselves by an appeal to the now established doctrine of human parentage and descent — as, in the declining days of Rome, licentious men and women fortified themselves by the philosophy of Epicurus; and in the days of Louis XV. of France, by the science and example of the encyclopedists. The origin of man certainly does not furnish us with any arguments for monogamy or against temporary concubinage, our ancestors among the monkeys knowing no restrictions in these matters.

We do tell these youths to be moral. But they hint that morality, in the vulgar sense, has been undermined. We do not address to them any appeals drawn from the divine existence and a judgment-day; if we did so, they would laugh in our faces. Some of them are bold enough to tell us that, the sanction being gone, the law has gone with it, or, at least, is not to be considered as unbending, but may fit itself to conditions and environments. We do at times appeal to the conscience. But they remind us

that Prof. Bain has shown us that the conscience is simply the product of circumstances, founded on man's capacity for pleasure and pain; and the verified hypothesis of the evolutionist is, that it has been built up, in ten millions of years, from the primitive sensations of pleasure and pain felt by our ascidian forefathers. Having examined the title, and exposed its invalidity, they deny the right of this pretended despot to rule over us. Tyndall acknowledges that there is a religious instinct; but then he has also detected its origin among material atoms, and our youth doubt whether it can claim any authority.

We speak of the beauty of "altruism"—so much more significant a phrase than "love," which the Bible uses. Our youths answer, first self and then another, and ask, now that conscience is gone, what claim altruism has on them. "Let the another," each says, "look after himself, and I will look after myself, and oblige him when it suits me." But we urge upon them that it is for their interest to be good, and to do good. They answer that this is not so very obvious, and that they are so interested in the present pursuit, and so fascinated with an engaging affection, that they are willing to risk all earthly consequences, and they remind us that we need not fear any consequences in the world to come. All this can no doubt be answered, but not very satisfactorily, I fear, till we get the new "kingdom;" not, indeed, of "God," or "heaven," but of the "earth," in the highly-developed state which it has reached in this quaternary era of its history. But, when the new religion comes, it will collect around it a faith and attractive associations; and it will generate an artistic worship full of glow; and the hearts of our young men and women will be drawn toward it, and we shall have a joyous religion, with a free and generous morality, rejecting all asceticism, and attracting by its own charms.

Multitudes are looking and longing for the new religion, and the longing will bring it—just as was shown by the great naturalist, Lamarck, the longing of the animal brought it fins to swim in the sea, and wings to fly in the heavens. Some, I know, in this state of transition, are intensely and overwhelmingly anxious. They have lost their old faith, and the new one has not yet come. Strauss, in some of his earliest editions, used to say that it was not the truth, but the belief, that is powerful as a motive;

not the resurrection of Christ, but the belief in it. But, it being now known that there is no religious truth, and that there has been no resurrection, the faith has died for want of its needful nourishment. The heart is empty, and aching and crying for food—as the man dying of hunger does; and for water—as the man dying of thirst does. There are, to my knowledge, terrible conflicts in the souls of some of our young men. There are distracting fears, also, in the bosoms of some of our young women who love their brothers and their lovers, and would like to follow them, but are afraid to do so, and have to use like language with the wife of James Mill, when she said of her husband in his later life, "He says things that frighten me." Our youths remember the grave counsels of their fathers ever appealing to heaven, and the prayers of their mothers committing them with uplifted hands to God. They cannot forget that they used themselves to pray, and found comfort under bereavement when they could thus unbosom themselves, in the belief that there was an eye watching over them and a heart pitying them. They have a solemn memory of the parting with fathers and mothers and sisters, who assured those left behind that they were going to heaven, and wished those they loved to follow them—all of which they are now obliged to regard as a delusion. Some of us have to look back on these days with a sigh. We have recorded instances of such feeling in Jouffroy, when his philosophy deprived him of his religion; and in Greg, when deism took away the faith of his childhood.

But, as honest men, we must follow the Truth—the difficulty being to know which path she has taken, the darkness being so dense. We cannot return to the simple faith which we have left far behind; the water cannot return and run up the hill down which it has descended. In the struggle feelings, more bitter than tears, have been wrung from the heart. The cry is for the touch of a vanished hand, which has been cut off and committed to the earth, from which it will never rise again. There is a shriek heard more piercing than that which comes from a house on fire, with inmates locked in; than that which comes from a ship on fire, or a lunatic asylum in flames. It would reach the ear of God, were there a god with ears to hear, or a heart to feel for it. I have been cursed by a young man, who has fallen into

vice, and who charges me with leading him from the faith in a God and Mediator, in which his mother had reared him, without giving him anything else in its place, and who says he is disposed to believe in a God—which is as certain as that every effect has a cause—but does not now know the way in which to approach him. The voice cries in broken accents, "They have taken away my God, and my faith and my hope, and I know not where to find them!" It is certain that there is no God to answer the complaint, but I have faith in the development which has done so much in the past, and will do more in the future, that it will fill the void it has created. "The children have come to the birth," and what we need is one to deliver them; and I advertise for such from among our scientific doctors all over the world.

AN EVOLUTIONIST.

IV.

A SENATOR'S FIDELITY VINDICATED.

The defeated attempt to annex San Domingo to the United States, the recall of Mr. Motley from the mission to England, the removal of Mr. Sumner from the head of the Committee on Foreign Relations, on which he had long served, the rupture of friendly intercourse subsisting between him and Mr. Fish, are likely, both in their public and personal aspects, to prove matters of permanent interest. While many contributions have been made to the discussion, the more elaborate are the letter of Mr. Fish, October 29, 1877, printed in the Boston *Evening Transcript*, the reply of one of Mr. Sumner's literary executors through the same journal, November 28th, and a paper of Mr. J. C. Bancroft Davis, in support of Mr. Fish, dated January 3, 1878, and appearing in the *New York Herald*.

Various persons have at times had relations to the controversy; but lately it has been treated as one which chiefly concerned Mr. Fish and Mr. Sumner. Their respective claims, however, to the public esteem are not the pending question. Mr. Sumner, in 1870, resisted, in the Senate, with all his power, the annexation of San Domingo as fraught with evil to the colored race, and as promoted by measures which violated international law, while Mr. Fish strenuously supported it in the cabinet. Whether, in this or other measures on which they may have differed or agreed, one or the other is entitled to the higher rank as a statesman, is not now in dispute. The issue is a narrower one, involving chiefly the validity of the reasons alleged at different times for Mr. Sumner's removal, which the public has quite generally attributed largely to the intervention of the President, and of his Secretary of State, Mr. Fish. The discussion sweeps a wider field, but it begins and ends at this point of contention.

In an interview with a reporter at Boston, October 19, 1877,

Mr. Fish stated that, "with regard to the alleged negligence of Mr. Sumner while chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, it was a fact, susceptible of proof from the Senate records, that drafts of treaties [meaning treaties], from eight to eleven in number, remained in the hands of the committee for several months, some of them, as near as Mr. Fish could remember, for more than two years." In reply to a written request for a list of the treaties referred to, he answered by letter, October 29th, enumerating nine—one each with Mexico, Colombia, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Austria, Salvador, and Great Britain, and two with Peru—as "transmitted to the Senate for its action, and referred by that body to the Committee on Foreign Relations, while Mr. Sumner was its chairman, and which remained unacted upon at the time when he ceased to be such chairman;" and later in the same letter he referred to the nine treaties as having "failed to receive the consideration of the committee at the time when Mr. Sumner's appointment as its chairman expired." By note of November 7th, merely correcting a date, Mr. Fish appeared a third time before the public. In an interview held at Garrison's, November 10th, with a reporter of the *New York Herald*, he treated with ridicule the suggestion ascribed to Wendell Phillips, that Mr. Sumner had "prepared and digested" the treaties referred to, which thus made final action only a formality, and replied, "with a certain bland smile of contempt," that, "on the contrary, he had pigeon-holed those treaties; he would pay no attention to them whatever." Again, by letter to the *Herald*, November 10th, evening, he supplemented with further statements what he had said to the reporter in the afternoon; thus, in the brief period of three weeks, coming before the public five times to make and support charges against Mr. Sumner, and each time with no appearance of being a reluctant witness—certainly without being governed by any self-imposed rule of silence or reserve.

Before October, 1877, Mr. Fish seems to have been, not publicly but privately, making the same charge against Mr. Sumner. In an interview held early in September, *en route* from London to Edinburgh, General Grant stated that he had said to George William Curtis, at Long Branch, in 1871, that "Mr. Sumner had not done his duty as chairman of the committee, because he had hampered the business of the State Department by pigeon-holing

treaties for months;" and the ex-President added: "I told Mr. Curtis that there were nine or eleven treaties before the Senate from the State Department that had been there several months, and had been in Mr. Sumner's hands, but had never been laid before the committee. I wrote from the spot, Long Branch, to the State Department, and to my own surprise there proved to be more treaties than I had said that had been in Mr. Sumner's own hands for a longer time than I expected. . . . The work of that committee, when Mr. Cameron took charge, was in a most deplorable state, due entirely to Mr. Sumner's obstructiveness and dilatoriness." General Grant thus indicated the State Department as the source of his information, and from it he obtained a formal list of the "pigeon-holed" treaties. Mr. Fish, as its head, being the only officer connected with it who was brought into constant communication with the President, and having six years afterward been quick to support a renewal of the charge, appears as the author of the original charge which General Grant repeated with so much emphasis in his interview.

The charge of suppressing important public business, thus authorized by Mr. Fish, and many times repeated by himself and others who relied on him as authority, is assuredly a very grave one. It implied official unfaithfulness, and even moral delinquency. Whether a statesman, living or dead, was able, wise, or far-sighted, is always a fair question for discussion; but the charge of moral delinquency, such as Mr. Fish originated and spread, and that too against one who could no longer speak for himself, could only be justified by undoubted evidence. Stated so positively and in such a quarter, it was likely to obtain general credence; and, but for a fortunate suggestion that the Senate records should be searched and made known, this calumny might have remained forever attached to an eminent Senator.

On November 21st the injunction of secrecy was removed from the Senate proceedings, on the motion of Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, and Mr. Fish's repeated charge found to be untrue. Mr. Sumner's chairmanship ended March 3, 1871. It was found that he reported the Mexican protocol (referred December 8, 1869) on January 11, 1870; the Darien Canal treaty with Colombia (referred April 1, 1870) on July 13, 1870; two treaties with Peru and one each with Guatemala and Nicaragua (all four

referred December 8, 1870) on January 12, 1871; one with Salvador (referred January, 1871) on March 1, 1871; one with Great Britain (referred February 28, 1871) on March 1, 1871, leaving only the Austro-Hungary treaty (referred December 14, 1870) unreported—eight of the nine treaties being thus reported by Mr. Sumner, which Mr. Fish charged he had "pigeon-holed" in his committee. Not only did he report them, but he reported them with more than the dispatch customary with committees. Five of the nine were kept with the committee only about a month, and that month a broken one, which included the holiday recess, and a sixth was reported the very next day after it was received. The treaty with Salvador was with the committee seven weeks, the last fortnight of which Mr. Sumner was prostrated with a severe illness, which kept him from the Senate. The Darien Canal treaty remained with the committee only three months, although it is still pending in the Senate, which has not been able to come to a conclusion upon its merits for the period of nearly eight years since it was reported. When we consider the deliberation and obstructions to which public business is subjected, particularly in Congress, Mr. Sumner will be regarded by all who study these dates as having dealt with his share of it with extraordinary dispatch. Senator Hoar, recently in this REVIEW, recorded his amazement at the proof of diligence which this record gives, all the more impressive because of the various duties pressing on Mr. Sumner, and his belief that no other committee could show such a record.

Eleven days after Mr. Fish had appeared by letter in the *Herald*, his charge against Mr. Sumner was shown to be untrue by the solemn record of the Senate. What, then, was his duty? He had made the charge to ex-President Grant, who was spreading it in Europe and the United States. He had repeated it by letters and interviews. He had made it, not against a living rival, but against a dead Senator, one with whom he had often held sweet counsel. The code of honor, the Christian canons, the instincts of human nature, commanded an instant retraction and apology under his own hand. The case did not admit of a vicarious defense. There are some duties which cannot be delegated—and one is that of recalling a false imputation against the character of another, and most of all when cast at the speechless

dead. But all at once Mr. Fish was silent. One who had five times in three weeks come before the public, and chiefly as a volunteer, all at once stopped writing letters and meeting interviewers; and from November 21, 1877, when his accusations were shown to be untrue by the publication of the Senate journal, he has maintained an impenetrable reserve. Withdrawing at this interesting stage of the discussion, he seems to have obtained a substitute to take his place. Mr. J. C. B. Davis, his former Assistant Secretary of State, spares time from new duties on the Court of Claims to write a paper for the *Herald* in his behalf. This mode of justifying by proxy has two advantages: it relieves Mr. Fish of the unpleasant necessity of stating at the outset how he came to make such untrue charges against a dead Senator; and further enables him to avoid responsibility for new positions taken in his defense, which may be found as unsubstantial as his original charge of "pigeon-holing" treaties. It is even better for the purpose than "interviewing," in which the interviewed, when his statements have been shown to be contrary to the fact, with great facility changes his positions, coolly throwing on the interviewer the responsibility of misapprehending him. Not, however, from Mr. Davis or any other substitute, but from Mr. Fish himself, under his own hand, an explanation is required by every law of moral duty.

Mr. Davis's method of narration is certainly unique. He relates some conversations where plainly he was not present; others, in a way that leaves the reader in doubt whether he is reciting another's story or his own; talks of the thoughts, anxieties, remembrances, and states of mind of Mr. Fish, as if the two were one; and recounts frequent and long interviews at Mr. Fish's house—matters of which Mr. Fish is the only competent witness —and in some instances he differs radically from Mr. Fish's versions. He undertakes to say, giving no authority, what took place between Mr. Sumner and Mr. Fish, January 13, 1871, at Mr. Sumner's house, when they two were alone together; and what Mr. Fish said to Senators, when he (Mr. Davis) does not claim to have been present. The paper abounds in vague phrases as—"it was said;" "it was no secret;" "one Republican Senator went so far;" "the President and Mr. Fish stated to more than one Senator;" "there appeared on the part of leading

Republican members"—in all which the generality of allegation and suppression of names make any attempt to test the truth of the statements impossible. If he is a witness, let him qualify by showing presence and opportunity; and, if he is only acting as amanuensis of Mr. Fish, let him say so. A paper of such a character as he has given carries no weight as evidence.

One part—and a large part it is—of Mr. Fish's as well as of Mr. Davis's statements ought to be eliminated from the discussion. They write with facility of the conversations of Mr. Sumner which are not now subject to his denial, or the different version he might give; and they undertake to put in testimony of this kind which they did not give in his lifetime. Recent statutes deny to a party the right to testify to the conversations of a deceased adversary, for manifest reasons of public policy. The rule is justly applicable to other than legal controversies, and should be applied more stringently against parties whose previous allegations against the deceased have proved untrue. *Falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus*, is a maxim which, though subject to limitations, holds a legitimate place in the law of evidence. The public will require better proof of Mr. Sumner's conversations, manner, and thoughts, than such testimony from such a source.

Mr. Davis in his paper jumps the charge of "pigeon-holing" with an acrobat's dexterity. He says that, "at or about the time the change [Mr. Sumner's removal] took place, the President and Mr. Fish stated to more than one Senator that the current business of the Department of State had been neglected in the Senate during the present session; and particularly that no treaty which had been sent to the Senate during the session which followed Motley's recall had been acted on." This shifting of positions is adroit, but it will not answer its purpose. Mr. Fish's uniform charge, as given to the public and to General Grant, is "pigeon-holing" in committee, not inaction in the Senate; and the list of nine treaties which he gave was one which he alleged had not been reported, not a list of treaties reported, which were not pressed in the Senate. If Mr. Fish told Senators what Mr. Davis asserts, then he gave them a different account from what he has given in letters and interviews. Mr. Davis very quietly slips in this new charge in place of the old one, without calling

the reader's attention to the substitution. Let it be noted, too, that he associates the ex-President with Mr. Fish in the making of charges to Senators; while the former in his interview denied any participation in the removal, though pleased to hear that it had taken place.

Mr. Davis says, "The unrevealed records of the Senate in executive session will show whether Mr. Sumner made any attempt during that winter [1870–'71] to secure the action of the Senate on these treaties." They might, or they might not. Mr. Sumner might have appealed urgently to Senators to take up the treaties, and the general expression might have been against his appeal, and there the matter ended without a record. If Mr. Davis can find anything in the Senate journals to impeach Mr. Sumner's fidelity, let him produce it, and not darkly hint at points against him which do not exist. On the assailant rests the burden of proving his charges. There is a presumption in favor of the right-doing of public business which has passed into a maxim. Reputations are to be assailed only by proved facts, not by cunning insinuations. Mr. Sumner's friends have no occasion to fear records which have already so well exposed the calumnies industriously circulated against him.

The charge which Mr. Davis now substitutes for the original one is, that Mr. Sumner "did not move forward the treaties and secure the Senate's action upon them." No such intimation was made in the caucus or in the Senate when Mr. Sumner's removal was debated March 10, 1871; nor by President Grant, when giving reasons for it in the summer of 1871; nor by Mr. Conkling, July 23, 1872, when, at the Cooper Institute, he defended with much elaboration the removal, stating instead, what is now disproved, that Mr. Sumner did not report "six or seven treaties;" nor by Mr. Howe, Mr. Hamlin, Mr. Cameron, and Mr. Anthony, when they explained in the Senate the cause of the removal April 28, 1874; nor by General Grant, in his interviews in 1877–'78 in Scotland or in Egypt; nor by Mr. Fish, in his five appearances before the public in October, November, and December, 1877; but it is, for the first time, made by Mr. Davis, January 3, 1878, nearly seven years after Mr. Sumner's removal, and almost four years after his death, and only when Mr. Fish's repeated accusation has been completely disproved by the record.

Mr. Davis's assertion, that the President and Secretary at that time stated to Senators Mr. Sumner's neglect of public business, is disproved by the facts. Such a statement, if believed, would have inevitably been used in the caucus and in the Senate. The Senators who promoted the removal were sorely pressed for reasons which should be distinct from the San Domingo issue, and they would have seized upon an argument calculated to carry public opinion with them. Not one, however, even in that hour of bitterness, saw fit to accept Mr. Sumner's challenge to an inspection of his record as chairman, or to deny his fidelity. Mr. Howe and Mr. Nye expressly admitted it, and the silence of others was an implied assent. If any one of all those who voted for the removal had received the information which Mr. Davis says that some had received from the President and Secretary, he could have met Mr. Sumner with a positive denial of his fidelity, and vindicated the propriety of his removal before the country. That no Senator received the communication, as stated by Mr. Davis, is shown by the fact that no Senator reported Mr. Sumner's alleged neglect to the caucus or the Senate, and that the positive assertions of his fidelity were left unquestioned. But the substitute charge is as unfounded as the original one. No affirmative evidence is given of its truth, and Mr. Sumner's friends might rest content with challenging the assailant to supply his proofs. But they can well advance beyond mere negation, and bring his surviving colleagues on the committee and in the Senate as witnesses to his character and fidelity.

No legislator, it may be remarked, can be held responsible for the refusal of the legislative body to act when he has duly reported a measure and brought it properly to its attention. The body may insist on its own order of business, or be averse to the consideration of the measure. The Darien Canal treaty, the French claims, the Alabama claims, and the civil rights measures, are all instances of dilatory action, which neither chairmen nor committees could prevent. Some of these Mr. Sumner urged, as is well known, with untiring effort, but without success. If, *prima facie*, a chairman is to be deemed culpable for the non-action of the legislative body, no chairman could stand the test. It is for Mr. Davis to show, before he can sustain his charge, an occasion when Mr. Sumner should have urged

a treaty, and did not, and what treaties he so neglected; when, if ever, any Senator upon his committee, or not upon it, asked in the Senate for the consideration of a treaty, and found him obstructive or indifferent; or when, if ever, Mr. Fish solicited Mr. Sumner's attention for the purpose, and it was not given. Many notes of Mr. Fish to Mr. Sumner are preserved, mostly of a very familiar character, mingling public and social affairs, and in not one of them is there a suggestion that any treaty has been neglected; not one speaks of delay or calls for action.

The testimony of Senators who were serving with Mr. Sumner at the time of his removal in March, 1871, is here given. Messrs. Patterson, Schurz, and Casserly, were members of the Committee on Foreign Relations at that time. Messrs. Casserly, Thurman, and Bayard, were his political opponents; and with some of the others, for instance Mr. Trumbull, he had at times strong antagonisms on public questions. But, whatever their differences, political or personal, they have cheerfully borne their emphatic testimony to the remarkable fidelity of their deceased colleague.

Ex-Senator Patterson, of New Hampshire, a member of the committee with Mr. Sumner, writes February 25, 1878:

"Mr. Sumner's fidelity in the discharge of his senatorial duties was so generally recognized that I could not have believed that any person would be found to question it, if I had not seen it. I am glad to be able to say, in response to your question, that I think he was exceptionally faithful and prompt in pressing the consideration of all matters referred to his committee, and in urging action upon the same, after it had been reported to the Senate; and my own belief is, that Mr. Sumner never exhibited greater activity or ability, and never manifested a stronger desire to expedite the business of his committee, than during his last term of service as its chairman. I never saw or heard an intimation that he was either slack or obstructive in the discharge of his duties as chairman, until I read the paper lately published by ex-Secretary Fish in response to Mr. Phillips's strictures upon the utterances of President Grant relative to Mr. Sumner. It so happened that I was absent from Washington, attending the annual election in New Hampshire at the time Mr. Sumner was dropped from his committee, and so did not hear the discussions upon that subject either in the caucus or the Senate. It was, however, a matter of frequent conversation after my return,

and I do not remember to have heard any one give, as a reason for his being dropped, a premeditated and willful holding back of treaties which had been referred to the committee, or even a careless neglect of foreign affairs.

"It was rare, if ever, that the files of our committee were cumbered with unconsidered business. It was Mr. Sumner's habit to drive his work and not to be driven by it. He kept the table of the committee clear, and ready for new matter as it came to hand. It certainly never occurred to me, and I have no reason to suppose it did to any of my associates upon the committee, that our chairman's zeal in the discharge of his official duties flagged during his last term of service, or that personal feelings toward the Secretary of State influenced his action as a Senator in the slightest degree. The charge that Mr. Sumner, simply to gratify personal spite, designedly and maliciously delayed action, either in the committee or the Senate, upon pending treaties, is something worse than an after-thought. The record shows it to be untrue, and a wrong done to the memory of a statesman whose name will be revered and honored in spite of this violation of the rest of the grave.

"Mr. Sumner undoubtedly had great confidence in his own judgment of public affairs, and perhaps was liable, through the strength of his feelings, to do injustice to the motives and opinions of others; but he was not suspicious or malignant, and his patriotism was too constant and strong ever to have allowed him to gratify his personal dislikes to the sacrifice of a public duty. All the treaties mentioned by Mr. Fish in the article already alluded to, when referred to the committee, were taken up and acted upon with the usual promptness, and were reported back to the Senate by our chairman with no more than the ordinary and necessary delay. Nor did Mr. Sumner's activity stop there. More than once, as I well remember, he reminded the Senate that those treaties were on its table, and waiting its action. But as no one of them was of such a character as to demand immediate action, and as no real interest of the country would be sacrificed by delay, the Senate preferred to go on with the *legislative* business upon its crowded calendar, during the short term, and so declined to go into executive session for the consideration of the treaties. Two out of the nine treaties spoken of by ex-Secretary Fish, it is true, could not be classed among what are called 'stock treaties.' They did not relate to the general questions of international intercourse, but yet were of such a character as would allow them to be held in abeyance without detriment to any public interest. That

relating to the Mexican commissioners, it was understood, would meet with serious opposition, and could only be ratified, if at all, after long debate. The Darien Canal treaty had such wide and far-reaching relations, and was to inaugurate expensive and protracted operations in a locality so distant and little understood, that it demanded time for investigation, both in the committee and the Senate. It was therefore thought best that these should go over with the others to the extra session, when there would be ample time to consider them. It is not an unusual thing—indeed, I think I may say it is the common practice of the Senate—to allow executive business pending near the close of a session, if it does not press for immediate action, to go over to the extra or special session, if it is understood there is to be one. This gives time for the consideration of legislative business which always crowds, and necessitates hasty action in the closing days of Congress."

Ex-Senator Schurz, of Missouri, another member of the committee with Mr. Sumner, now Secretary of the Interior, writes, May 15, 1878:

"I was a member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations during the last two years of Mr. Sumner's chairmanship, and I have never heard his diligence in preparing and pressing forward the business of that committee questioned by any one, until now after his death. I was personally on intimate terms with Mr. Sumner, and know, from my own observation, that his official duties, especially those connected with foreign affairs, were constantly occupying his mind and engaging his energies. If the charge of negligence had been brought against him while he was at the head of the Committee on Foreign Relations, it would have been unanimously put down as utterly absurd by all those who had any knowledge of the business of that committee.

"Mr. Sumner never hesitated, neglected, or ceased to press the business of the committee upon the attention of the Senate on every available occasion. As to the list of treaties recently mentioned by Mr. Fish in his letter to the Boston *Transcript*, I do not pretend to have any specific recollection. But I feel warranted in saying that if those treaties, or any of them, went over from the regular session of Congress to the extra session of the Senate immediately following it and called especially for the transaction of executive business, it was by no means an unusual, but a very common and a very proper thing. It is notorious that toward the close of a session of

Congress there is a vast accumulation of legislative matter to be disposed of in a hurry; that there is scarcely time for the calm consideration of anything; that the Senate at that period devotes most of its time in executive sessions to the confirmation or rejection of the nominations still on the calendar; and that extra sessions of the Senate, immediately following the adjournment of Congress, are called for the special purpose of transacting business which requires consideration and could not be sufficiently considered amid the turmoil of a closing Congress. To cast blame upon Mr. Sumner, or any one else, for permitting important business to go over to the extra session of the Senate under such circumstances, if in the instance mentioned by Mr. Fish it did go over, seems entirely gratuitous.

"The reasons for which Mr. Sumner was dropped from the chairmanship of the Committee on Foreign Relations were discussed in open Senate, and even the debate which had taken place in the caucus of Republican Senators on the subject was drawn into that discussion. No Senator who favored the removal of Mr. Sumner ventured to hint at remissness in the conduct of public business on the part of Mr. Sumner, or at a difference of opinion between him and the Secretary of State concerning the acquisition of Canada, as forming part of those reasons. The record in the *Congressional Globe* speaks for itself. Neither have I ever, until now, heard these two things privately mentioned by any one as making the retirement of Mr. Sumner from the chairmanship desirable. To put his retirement from a post which he had held so long and so honorably, upon such grounds, appears very much like an after-thought, and to accuse a man like Mr. Sumner, whose highest pride was in his fidelity to public duty, of negligence or obstructiveness in the discharge of those duties, now that he is in his grave, is, to say the least of it, very ungracious business."

Ex-Senator Casserly, of California, another member of the committee with Mr. Sumner, writes, February 19, 1878:

"During the two years, from 1869 to 1871, while I was on the committee with Mr. Sumner, I can say that in the committee, as its chairman, he was faithful and diligent in reporting and pressing treaties. He was equally so in the Senate, where he was apt to be rather persistent with treaties of importance. It is my recollection that treaties sent in to the Senate during the session ending March 4th were, unless the emergency was great, usually laid over for the

special session of the Senate immediately following. The Mexican Claims treaty encountered from the first much opposition. I do not recall the circumstances connected with the Austro-Hungarian treaty, or the Darien Canal treaty. Generally speaking, I should say that the delays, whatever they were, in disposing of important treaties were imputable to the Senate rather than to Mr. Sumner. I refer more especially now to the session ending March 4, 1871, when he was excluded from the committee. Whatever specious pretexts for this proceeding may have been given then, or may be given now, I cannot doubt that the controlling motive for it is to be found in Mr. Sumner's unflinching opposition to the San Domingo job. This was the understanding at the time among all of us Democrats in the Senate, and not a few Republicans."

Senator Morrill, of Vermont, writes, January 24, 1878:

"I cannot pretend any other than a general impression touching the manner of Mr. Sumner in the discharge of his duties as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations; and that impression was and is that he was remarkably attentive to all subjects referred to the committee, and I never noticed that he was dilatory in pressing them upon the attention of the Senate. To the very last he seemed to me especially ambitious not to shirk his senatorial labors. I was also frequently at his room, and there always found him a hard worker."

Ex-Senator Trumbull, of Illinois, writes, January 25, 1878:

"I am amazed that there should be any controversy as to the fidelity with which the late Mr. Sumner performed his duties as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations. During the eighteen years I served with him in the Senate, no member of the body was more prompt in his attendance, or more attentive to business than he, saving only the period while he was physically disabled by the brutal assault of 1856. In 1871, when Mr. Sumner, after a service of ten years, was displaced as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, no one intimated that it was because of any delay or neglect in the discharge of duty either in the committee-room or as a member of the Senate. So far from it, his fidelity was admitted by all; and, though my personal relations with him were not at the time of the most agreeable character, I was so well satisfied that the good of the public service required his retention as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, that I did not hesitate to protest against his removal. I regard the accusation that

Mr. Sumner, either during the last year of his service as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, or at any other time, failed or neglected properly to bring forward and press upon the consideration of the Senate treaties or any other matter referred to his committee, as cruelly unjust, and wholly unwarranted by the facts."

Ex-Senator Fenton, of New York, writes, January 29, 1878:

"I know of no Senator more faithful and efficient in pressing committee-business committed to him than was Mr. Sumner. During the years I served with him in the Senate I never heard it charged or intimated, nor did I ever for a moment think, that he was careless or remiss in the discharge of duty, whether relating to treaties or other matters before his committee or the Senate. His views relative to the acquisition of Canada, whatever they may have been at the time of his disconnection with the Committee on Foreign Relations, were not urged or referred to privately or publicly, to my knowledge, as a reason for his displacement."

Senator Thurman, of Ohio, writes, May 24, 1878:

"I never heard, until after his death, any suggestion that Senator Sumner was remiss in the discharge of his duties as chairman of that committee. The suggestion greatly surprised me, for he was very remarkable for his punctual attendance in the Senate, and I had always supposed that he was equally diligent in the discharge of his committee duties. I cannot but think that those who have intimated the contrary are very greatly mistaken."

Senator Bayard, of Delaware, writes, February 18, 1878:

"In reply to your inquiry as to the fidelity of the late Senator Sumner in conducting the business of the Committee on Foreign Relations while he was the chairman, I will say that, not having been a member of that committee, I can speak only of its business as presented to the Senate, and there I can well attest Mr. Sumner's remarkable assiduity in attending to all the duties of his position. In this he was conspicuous, and I never knew his steady fidelity to fail or flag even when ill-health and suffering would have given him ample excuse. I cannot imagine a more frivolous pretext for his removal from the chairmanship he had held so many years than an alleged lack of attention to its duties. In his lifetime I never heard such a suggestion, for it would have been considered absurd. When he was deprived of the chairmanship, there was no man in the Senate so well equipped as he for the place, and not one more assiduous

in his devotion to what he believed to be his duty; and in this there was no abatement until death relieved him."

Similar testimonies have been received from other associates of Mr. Sumner in the Senate, as ex-Senators Morrill, of Maine, and Logan, of Illinois, and Senators Anthony, Windom, and Spencer, but there is not space to insert them here.

Senator Sherman, of Ohio, now Secretary of the Treasury, in the debate on Mr. Sumner's removal, March 10, 1871, while considering himself bound by the action of the caucus, declared the change "unjustifiable, impolitic, and unnecessary;" and, after Mr. Sumner's death, in a tribute to his memory bore testimony to his remarkable fidelity. The leading promoters of the removal admitted in the debate his perfect fidelity, and no Senator alleged or hinted the slightest default either in the committee or in the Senate, whether arising from inattention, obstructiveness, or any other cause. That was left for the fertile imaginations of Mr. Fish and Mr. Davis.

The breach of personal (not official) relations between the Secretary and the Senator was assigned as the cause of the removal by its advocates in the Senate debate of March 10, 1871. But it was shown at the time that Mr. Sumner was always ready to confer freely with Mr. Fish on public business, and indeed had done so but a few weeks previous, and that the breach of personal relations was caused by "a gross insult," so called in debate, which Mr. Fish had given Mr. Sumner in the dispatch to Mr. Moran of December 30, 1870, previous to which they had been engaged in friendly intercourse and correspondence. This "flimsy pretext" of non-intercourse, as it was termed by Senator Schurz, did not avail at the time to mislead the public. The debates in the caucus and in the Senate, and the public journals in their leaders, paragraphs, and correspondence, pointed to Mr. Sumner's determined opposition to the San Domingo scheme and his exposure of the proceedings of its leading promoters as the motive or justification of his displacement.

The reasons for Mr. Sumner's removal heretofore given having failed, Mr. Davis has attempted a new one, which no assailant of Mr. Sumner hitherto has ventured to suggest, viz., that the Senator by a memorandum of January 17, 1871, sent by him to Mr. Fish, in answer to a call for his advice as to the negotia-

tions with Great Britain for the settlement of the Alabama claims and other questions, proposed that "the withdrawal of the British flag from Canada cannot be abandoned as a condition or preliminary of such a settlement." This, according to Mr. Davis, was communicated by Mr. Fish to "leading Republican Senators," who were governed in their votes by the communication, making them, as he says, "their practical answer" to the memorandum; and he then states that for diplomatic purposes this reason was not given to the public, but only the reason "that Mr. Sumner was not on speaking terms with the President and with Mr. Fish." The presumption is against Senators having been influenced by such an argument, if it had been used. It is not customary, on account of a difference on a single measure involving no party passions, to dismiss a chairman from a post he has held with universal approval for a long period, but it is found easier and more consistent with the proprieties to vote him down on that question than to remove him altogether from his place.

A few considerations show this newly-devised explanation of Mr. Sumner's removal to be absurd. No such reason was given at the time of the removal, either in the caucus on March 9, 1871, or in the Senate on March 10, 1871, or in the public journals of the time. The "non-speaking" reason, and that alone, was insisted on by Senators who advocated the removal. If the embarrassment of negotiations had been a reason, it would have been given at once. Mr. Davis intimates that it would have been "the height of indiscretion" to give the reason while negotiations were pending; but why so? The removal of a chairman who was making exorbitant demands against Great Britain would have shown our friendly disposition, and made negotiations easier. But no attempt to conceal a reason operating on the minds of Senators could have succeeded. In some way the reporters would have discovered it. Nothing is more easy to detect than the considerations governing the action of public men who are coöperating in the support of a measure.

Mr. Davis's explanation why this reason remained a profound secret will not stand a moment's scrutiny. If reasons of state required Senators to keep this cause for the removal a secret, the secret would have come out when those reasons of state ceased to operate; and they ceased entirely to operate when the Treaty of

Washington had been concluded and ratified in June, 1871. The fact that this alleged cause for removal was not made public then, or whenever after the causes of the removal were canvassed by Senators, proves that it never existed, that it never had any place in their minds, that it was never communicated to them. It was not mentioned by Mr. Conkling when he defended the removal in his speech at Cooper Institute, July 23, 1872; nor in the debate in the Senate, April 28, 1874, when it was explained or defended by Howe, Hamlin, Anthony, and Cameron; nor by Mr. Fish himself in his interviews and letters of October 19, October 29, and November 10, 1877; nor by any one except Mr. Davis, and by him only after the pretext of unreported treaties had been disproved. Mr. Howe, writing so recently as in the last number of this REVIEW, gives only the non-intercourse reason, thus lending no sanction to Mr. Davis's latest invention. The memorandum, as a justification of the removal, was thus an after-thought, taking the place of another after-thought, which had failed. The statement, then, that any position of Mr. Sumner in relation to the acquisition of Canada was in the mind of any Senator when voting for his removal, or was ever communicated to any Senator as a reason for removal, may fairly take its place with the charge that he never reported the nine treaties.

But who are "the leading Senators" with whom Mr. Fish is said to have conferred? Were not the two Messrs. Morrill, Messrs. Schurz, Sherman, Trumbull, and Wilson, as leading Senators as any who favored Mr. Sumner's removal? These all, however, sustained him in caucus. Either, then, Mr. Fish did not communicate this argument to them or to any of the twenty-one who voted in Mr. Sumner's favor in the caucus, or, if he did, they placed no reliance upon it. If he withheld it from the twenty-one, but communicated it to some of the twenty-six who voted for the removal in the caucus, upon what principle of selection did he proceed? Were the Senators who voted for removal any more pacific in disposition toward England than those who voted against it? Among the former was Mr. Chandler, who was most zealous against Mr. Sumner; but it was he who made, in April, 1869, the most aggressive speech against England ever made in Congress, and who then proposed to obtain by negotiation a surrender of all the British possessions in North America

as the basis for a settlement of our claims, and who, in the same speech, recited the offensive propositions he had from time to time made, such as the withdrawal of our minister from the court of St. James's, the repeal of the neutrality laws, the declaration of our neutrality between England and Abyssinia, and who said that "the sixty thousand veteran soldiers of Michigan will take the contract to take possession of the Canadas in thirty days." Indeed, Mr. Chandler, who proposed to seize Canada by force, voting to remove Mr. Sumner for desiring only a peaceful acquisition, with full consent of England, and of Canada also, would be an interesting spectacle! Surely he was not one of "the leading Senators." Nor could there have been among them, for reasons already given, Messrs. Conkling, Howe, Hamlin, Cameron, or Anthony. Who, then, were the nameless, undesignated "leading Senators" to whom Mr. Fish made known the memorandum which, as now alleged, he then thought a fatal obstruction to an important negotiation—a secret, kept so well for seven years, and now first revealed by Mr. Davis?

If it were true that Mr. Fish ever made the communication to Senators which Mr. Davis now alleges, such communication would also have been made, first of all, to the President, before even it was mentioned to a Senator. But General Grant, in all his justifications of Mr. Sumner's removal, puts forth two only, "the pigeon-holing" and "the non-speaking" ones, as in his conversation with Mr. Curtis in the summer of 1871, at Long Branch, and in his interviews in Scotland in September, 1877, and at Cairo in January, 1878, without ever making the remotest allusion to the reason which Mr. Davis now resorts to when the others have failed.

Again, and finally, as showing that no views of Mr. Sumner about Canada ever prompted a vote for his removal, it should be remembered that the removal was attempted at the beginning of the session, in December, 1870, and threatened in debate, on December 21st, some weeks before the memorandum of January 17, 1871, about Canada was written.

Mr. Davis assumes to give the terms of Mr. Sumner's memorandum of January 17, 1871. Taking it as given, Mr. Sumner appears to have thought the proximity to us of the British possessions a cause of irritation and disturbance, by furnishing a

basis of operations for Fenianism, and, in order to make the settlement complete and prevent all controversy in the future, he proposed the peaceful and voluntary withdrawal of the British flag from this continent. This proposition was neither dishonorable nor unstatesmanlike, and it is in harmony with the best opinions of our time. The single sentence of the memorandum already given alone invites criticism; but by those words, written not in a formal paper, and signed only with initials, he meant merely to say, as the event showed, that the cession of British America should be our first request in order to reach, as a final consummation, perpetual peace between the two nations. That this was his thought is shown by other expressions in the memorandum, as where, cordially accepting Sir John Rose's idea that all causes of irritation should be removed, he added: "Nothing could be better than this initial idea. It should be the starting-point." That he laid no greater stress on this part of his memorandum, appears clearly enough from a letter he wrote soon after to George Bemis, in which, mentioning the fact of his memorandum, he refers to the clause in it concerning the depredations of the different cruisers, but without any reference to the clause concerning Canada. But, as demonstrating that he held no impracticable, no obstructive position about Canada, this fact alone is sufficient—that he supported in the Senate the Treaty of Washington, and while he criticised some omissions and moved certain amendments, and spoke at length upon its various provisions, he made no complaint that it did not provide for the cession of Canada; and, indeed, made no reference to the matter whatever.

This was not the first occasion on which Mr. Sumner had shown his desire for the acquisition of British America, as he had already supported that of Russian America. Always, however, he insisted that it should be made by peaceful annexation—by the voluntary act of England, and with the cordial assent of the colonists. This view appears in his speech at the Republican State Convention at Worcester, September 22, 1869, where he recalled the aspirations of our fathers for the union of all Englishmen in America, and their invitation to Canada to join our new nation at its birth; suggested that reciprocity of trade was prophetic of political unity; and pictured our country as hereafter destined to

cover the continent "from the frozen sea to the tepid waters of the Mexican Gulf;" but, referring to the whispers of territorial compensation for our claims against England with territory as the consideration, he rejected such a solution altogether, except with the full concurrence of Canada herself, declaring with emphasis, "Territory may be conveyed, but not a people." Is there anything in this aspiration unworthy, visionary, or impracticable? Rather is there not something in it lofty and inspiring? Everywhere races of common origin and speech are gravitating to oneness and solidarity. Such is the lesson of history, and such also is the spectacle of our era. This generation has seen Italy rise from a geographical expression to a national entity—her various kingdoms, duchies, pontifical states, provinces of a foreign dynasty, all becoming one country, which stretches the length of the historic peninsula. It has seen likewise Germany, no longer a mere dream of patriots and idealists, at last consolidated as one people, and realizing the Fatherland of patriotism and of song. At this hour it sees in the far East the Greek race, in whose language mankind has found its culture, its philosophy, and its religion, yearning for a nationality commensurate with the common speech, and centred in a renowned capital on the Ægean or the Bosporus. Such a generation will respond with sympathy to Sumner's thought of Canada joining speedily the sisterhood of American States, even if, with a seer's instinct, he anticipated, as he often did, the fullness of time. In the final week of his life, even on the very day he left the Senate for the last time, at whose close he was smitten with mortal agony, he was finishing his "Prophetic Voices concerning America," in which he had gathered what from age to age had been foretold of her greatness and destiny; and among these he placed his friend Cobden's contemplation of the coming union of Canada with us. What nobler epitaph can be written of an American statesman than this: That after an illustrious career of devotion to universal liberty, carrying into age the fresh hopes of youth, he died, cherishing fondly the vision that the country he had loved and served was to grow in peace to an empire wide as the domains of the English-speaking race on this continent!

EDWARD L. PIERCE.

V.

THE POSITION OF THE JEWS IN AMERICA.

SECOND ARTICLE.

The tide of Hebrew immigration, which set in strongly after 1848, brought hither Israelites of various mental conditions, mostly drafted from German and Slavonic countries. These had either suffered downright oppression, or been held in political tutelage. They had been subject to the pettiest interferences of governments, which had made the name paternal a by-word and a hissing. The abrupt transition from such a mode of life to one of civil liberty such as the United States offers, produced its natural results. Not that the Hebrews were ever troublesome to their new governors—this they never were; but they could not all at once realize the distinction between self-government and mere self-assertion. They found it hard to obey self-made laws when they became inconvenient to them. Untrained to parliamentary forms of discussion, they not only often failed in their attempts at combining for religious and charitable objects, but broke out in bitter feuds and personal animosities, which drew upon them the censure and ridicule of their new surroundings.

Fortunately, there were among them even then men of clear heads, liberal education, and ample experience, who perceived that help was needed, and that it was theirs to procure it. Intellectually above their brethren, their hearts had remained loyal to them. These men felt that if the Jews were ever to attain the respected position which was within the reach of their capacities and opportunities, they would require a political education which their old homes had not afforded them; and that the instruction ought not to be theoretical, but practical. This was the primary idea that led to the foundation of the first Hebrew Order, under the name of "B'nai B'rith." On its pattern three other frater-

nities have since been organized, all of which are in a flourishing condition.* In the annual message of the President of the "B'nai B'rith," for the year 1873, the intentions of the founders are stated as follows:

"The leading idea of the project was to school the members of the new society by strict discipline, by inculcating the necessity of a constant watch over their conduct toward each other and society. An impressive method was to be found, which would bring into prominent view the higher and nobler objects of life, and, above all, to indoctrinate the great principle that men may differ in religious belief, and yet unite and work together harmoniously under the great laws of humanity, as expressed by the great teachers of the Jewish religion.

"The fundamental law of this religion, as expounded by 'brotherly love,' is the strong foundation upon which our edifice has been erected; benevolence and harmony are its main pillars.

"Only in this sense is the order a Jewish institution: it rests upon the broad doctrines of humanity and brotherhood, embodied in the spirit, the history, and literature, of the Jewish religion; but it carefully excludes from its laws and regulations all that could possibly be objected to as dogmatical, doctrinal, or sectarian. The platform of principles, while sufficiently broad to admit of the widest latitude, establishes such necessary restrictions as will exclude all who would come in conflict with the fundamental idea of the order. Attempts heretofore made to introduce questions which would infringe, in one direction or the other, upon this broad highway, have been emphatically repudiated by grand-lodges and conventions, as well as by the Judicial Tribune of the order; and these questions should, in the future, be kept out of our councils and deliberations. They only contribute to mar the harmony of our proceedings, and are calculated to jeopard the progress of our order in its mission, as an engine of civilization and enlightenment.

"To bind its members more closely together, and to use the order as a promoter of their material welfare, a system of mutual aid in case of need, after the model of existing charitable institutions, was introduced, and, following their example in still another direction, the seal of secrecy was stamped upon all its proceedings. This not only created a greater attraction to uncultured minds, but gave the young society a weight and importance which, under the

* For statistics, *see* the previous article.

existing circumstances, could possibly not have been attained by any other means."

The soundness of the methods adopted has been demonstrated by the rapid growth of very modest beginnings, and the complete achievement of the objects of the organizations. If the Jews have lived down the reproach of the days of ignorance, the fidelity, devotion, and practical good sense of those who stood by their brethren when to do so was to share the silent disdain of the cultured and the loud jeers of the vulgar, deserve their lasting recognition. Since 1848 civil liberty has widely extended her blessings over the Old World, and the new-comer of to-day needs but rarely the helping hand to fit him for his new sphere; even those who come from parts as yet unregenerated by a liberal policy are speedily absorbed into the numerous organizations, and moulded into orderly, law-abiding members. There has, moreover, risen a generation of native Israelites, differing in no wise from their Christian fellow-citizens save in their religion. Educated in the schools and colleges of their country, imbued with their spirit, and represented in all the liberal professions, they help to impart to all Hebrew institutions, *as far as desirable*, their American complexion. Because some of the original purposes of the societies have become obsolete, the idea of divesting them of all secrecy and ceremonialism has received much favor, and been earnestly advocated in recent conventions.

We thought it right to acquaint our readers with the origin and scope of the Jewish orders, because, in the first place, we wished to show once more that the Jew does not migrate from country to country in search of rich pastures only, but giving his heart to none, because he reserves his patriotic love for the land of his fathers. It is not yet out of date to disprove the allegation, seeing that it is even now repeated, with great vehemence, in quarters where it might least have been expected. Leaders of the Liberal party in England have raised the "No Jewry!" cry, because the English Israelites refused to join in the fanatic ravings against Turkey. Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Froude struck the key-note, and the ultra-radical Mr. Goldwin Smith reached the highest pitch in asserting that it is a vain thing to hope to make patriots of the Jews; wherefore he sagely tendered to Christian nations the statesmanlike advice to place this alternative before the ob-

stinate race: either to renounce their hateful monotheism, and accept that of his own construction, or—go back to Palestine. The professor forgot that the chief offender, Earl Beaconsfield, has long since abandoned the Jewish monotheism; has even become a defender of the Established Church; that the crime of the Jews is the identical one of which the most intensely English of the English—the Conservative party—is guilty; and that, across the Channel, it is the Liberals with whom the Jews coincide in this point. The truth is, the Jews refuse to treat the tremendous issue now before the English nation as a mere party question, and so far have felt in the matter just as the majority of the English people feel, since they have sustained Disraeli and repudiated Gladstone. And, as regards the influence of religion on the patriotic sentiment, let us hear the opinion of Mr. Lecky, a writer of no Hebrew proclivities, who says, "But patriotism itself has never found any place in Christian ethics;" and again, "A candid examination will show that the Christian civilization has been as inferior to the pagan ones in civic and intellectual virtues as they have been superior to them in the virtues of humanity and chastity;" and he cites the saying of Tertullian, the great father of the Church, "Nec ulla res aliena magis quam publica." *

In the next place, we desired to disarm the suspicion that the Jewish fraternities serve political aims, or may conveniently be turned into engines for party purposes. Let our readers understand that neither these, nor, in fact, any one of the Jewish organizations for religious or charitable ends, will lend themselves to such abuses. The political creed of the Jew is entirely independent of his religious one; he chooses his side according to his own convictions, and is, as a rule, intolerant of dictation of any kind, most of all ecclesiastical. Besides, where there is no hierarchy to issue the *mot d'ordre*, no supervisory assembly over the rabbi or his flock, no power in the rabbi to deny to the refractory member any one of his religious privileges, party discipline and hence concerted action are manifestly impossible. If unanimity does sometimes appear, it is the spontaneous action of a com-

* "History of European Morals," ii., pp. 148–154. Lecky describes the intense satisfaction with which the Christians beheld the calamities that overwhelmed the Roman Empire. For some able remarks on the relation of the Jews to the Turkish question, *see* "The Conference and the Crisis," by Alfred H. Louis, London, Bentley.

mon feeling; as, for instance, when the still lurking prejudice is invoked to cast an unmerited slur upon one of the race, or when his religion is used as a lever to thrust a candidate from a position to which the people's suffrage has raised him.

A new feature in the social life of the Jews is the Young Men's Hebrew Associations, which, originating in New York, have begun to spread over the land. Though founded on the pattern of the Christian Associations, they differ from the latter in this essential point, that there is no missionary-work connected with them. They do not aim at the propagation of any definite form of Judaism. They are free from all dogmatic restraints, hold no religious services, distribute no religious tracts, and receive as members young men of all shades of opinion, both believing and unbelieving. No applicant is questioned for his faith or his race. They are Jewish only in so far as their members are of that stock, and favor Judaism to that extent only that they contribute, by means of lectures, classes in Hebrew and in history, to the knowledge of Judaism, and thus encourage faithfulness to its general teachings. Their principal design is, social entertainments of a pure and elevating character, and the cultivation of literary tastes among the younger members of the community.

That a liberal spirit is fostered in these Associations appears from the fact that Christian scholars and clergymen, among them some of pronounced orthodoxy, have been invited to lecture before them. All have responded to the call with praiseworthy alacrity, and, in the selection and treatment of their subjects, evinced that tact which marks true culture and the higher grade of toleration. The throngs of uplifted Hebrew faces listening with delight to the eloquent words of Christian clergymen, and the loud cheers which rang through the densely-filled hall, deserve to be classed among the promising signs of the time.

There are large tracks between the various denominations where friendly offices might be exchanged, without infringing upon the peculiar domain which the different bodies are bound to protect. If the example set by the Hebrew societies were followed by others, the cause of religion would be materially strengthened. Friendly relations with the Young Men's Christian Association were sought, but met with no response.

Social Adhesion.

The social coherence of the Jews, which continues in spite of the acquired civil equality, still puzzles the Gentile observer. To the theological mind it argues a divine purpose with the chosen, but temporarily rejected, race; to the philosopher, the astounding pertinacity of traits of character; to those hostile to the Jews it is a proof of a secret conspiracy against the welfare of Christian nations; and the most general impression is, that pride of race lies at the bottom of the strange fact. Even Mr. James Freeman Clarke has no other explanation to offer. He says, "Hereditary and ancestral pride separated them (the Jews), and still separates them, from the rest of mankind." *

How singular, indeed, that, when the Jew attempts to quit his reserve and mix freely with his neighbors, he is repelled and unceremoniously shown back to his own tribe; and, if he keeps there, he is accused of hereditary and ancestral pride! We need not dive for an explanation to great depths; the reasons lie much nearer the surface; so near, indeed, that even "he who runs" may see them—perchance in the accuser much more than in the accused.

Be it remembered that most of the heads of families are of foreign birth, and were of mature age when they pitched their tents on this free soil. They had contracted their social habits, which to abandon they saw no reason whatever. They readily fell in line for the discharge of their civic duties; but their private life, their domestic customs, which were of the German-Jewish type, they could not all at once change without causing a rent in their most intimate relations. These are far too precious for such experiments. People whose strongest affections centre in their homes are naturally tenacious of their manners and usages; and none should understand this better than those of the Anglo-Saxon stock, who themselves carry their household gods with them wherever they go. Besides, recreation after the exacting labors of the day a man can find nowhere except in places where he may move in perfect ease and freedom; and these, again, the society of his equals in temperament, language, and taste, alone will afford him. The Jews do not differ in this re-

* "Ten Great Religions," p. 503.

spect from other foreigners, all of whom show a decided preference for their own circles.

In the civilized countries of the Old World the seclusion of the Jews has almost entirely disappeared, and it would cease here much sooner but for the ecclesiasticism which enters so largely into the formation of American society. Christianity, although not legally dominant, is yet practically so. Where the spirit has departed, the phraseology still remains. Everywhere the tenets of that faith are assumed as beyond question, making conversation often embarrassing to the dissenting Israelite. No matter how much or how little the Gentile believes of the dogmas, their assumption does not inconvenience him; no need for him to guard against the charge of supineness and insincerity to which, however, the Hebrew lays himself open if he fail to record his dissent. Nor is it the dogma alone which enjoys such a preëminence. The laws of morality, the motives of kindness, the graces of conduct, are also marked with the device of the Church. We are not speaking now in the way of censure; we simply state facts which are patent to all. But let the candid reader realize for a moment the feelings with which an Israelite must hear every virtue under heaven—manliness, candor, honor, humility, love, forbearance, even charity and the sanctities of home, nay, courtesy itself—a matter in which the coarse Norseman was the disciple of the polished and courtly Oriental—stamped with a name that degrades him and makes him appear a graceless intruder into the circle of the elect—and the problem of Hebrew retirement will lose much of its mystery. It will then appear why the Hebrew philanthropist does not yet take that personal share in the benevolent labors of his fellow-citizens which he is most willing and unquestionably able to bear. Where his money is welcomed his faith is proscribed. Dear and near to his heart as many of the beneficent efforts for the amelioration of the conditions of the poor are, he can do no more than aid them with his purse, for he knows that his just sensibilities will not be consulted. We readily admit that often no insult is intended; but that does not take the sting from a reproach, pronounced or implied. If long habit is pleaded in extenuation, our answer is: The time has surely come to conquer it. Some think that the Jew himself ought, by abandoning his reserve, to remove the obstacle in his way. That may be so; but

such missions do not ordinarily inspire men with the courage to face prejudice. We do not for a moment pretend that the Jews are blameless in that respect, and never indulge in religious arrogance. We have no excuse for them, beyond this, that the fault is a little less reprehensible in those who have suffered so much for their faith's sake. It certainly is for the *dominant* religion, rather than for that of a small minority, to lead the way in this very desirable reform.

If social alienation is undesirable on general grounds, it is especially so for this reason, that it prevents both Jews and Christians from correcting their views of their respective religions, a thing as yet much needed on either side. Nothing brings man nearer to man than the sacred community of good work; nothing strengthens faith in the Father more surely than the growing sense of the brotherhood of his children. Probably unbelief itself will not object to be conquered by the logic of such facts. If churches and synagogues must needs preach the same truth under different aspects, and worship God in diverse tongues, may they not learn to praise him also in the universal language of good deeds on the broad fields of our common humanity?

Meanwhile, we shall do what in us lies to make ourselves known, not only outwardly, but inwardly too; we shall let the reader into all the mysteries of our faith, as far as we ourselves know them. For, after all, the chief interest which the Hebrew race offers to the eye of the student is its religion. As the propounders, witnesses, and soldiers of a new faith, the Jews appeared in history, and have steadfastly pursued their course, from the call of their first father, "the friend of God," in the plains of ancient Chaldea, to this day, when their presence is felt in so many lands. Through light and darkness, through victory and defeat, through glory and shame, their faces remained firmly set toward a goal which the ancient seers planted on the heights of a redeemed and perfected humanity. Their contributions to the intellectual and industrial achievements of the past were of no mean importance; but they all had their root in the religious genius which they developed, and it is their religious mission from which they derive, to this day, both the right and the duty to remain outside the dominant religions.

What, then, is the present condition of Judaism in this country?

Our readers know that the uniformity of faith and practice, once the pride and the strength of scattered Israel, no longer exists. It is true there is no disruption into sects. So long as the Jew does not openly and distinctly renounce his allegiance, he is considered as still within the fold. The defender of the old paths will not deny the radical reformer the character of a brother in faith, and the latter shows no abatement of sympathy with the former in his hour of need.

But the divergence is wide enough to justify the division of those who still profess Judaism as their religion into at least three distinct classes. Outward pressure has ceased to hold the army of "God's Body-Guard" shoulder to shoulder, and the new life to which freedom invited them, and into which they plunged with an absorbing passion, has exercised its disintegrating influence. Literature, art, science, politics, industries, social problems, now engross much of the enthusiasm which before was consecrated chiefly, if not exclusively, to religion.

There is the strictly conservative wing, comprising the faithful adherents to traditional Judaism, as established by the ordinances of the Talmud, the later casuists, and the "Minhag," or fixed usage. They are numerous, but not influential. Large and representative congregations they have but few in the land, although some of these date their origin back to the days of the earliest Hebrew settlements. They are mostly grouped in small bodies, with an ephemeral life; they are content to perform their devotions in obscure places; they seldom appoint trained rabbis for their guides, as they are too poor for that; but, like well-disciplined soldiers, they march in line without the command of officers. They all know what the law requires, and do it, often at great sacrifice, without the encouragement or the threat of the pulpit. Humble and uncomfortable as their meeting-places are, they prefer them to the temples of their richer brethren, simply because they are their own. The poor Jew has great respect for wealth; he will give it its due in bows everywhere, except in the house of his God, whom the ancient masters called "Ashira shel olam," the wealthy one of the world. He will have no other gods before his face. In matters relating

to him he tolerates no abridgment of rights. This republicanism the Talmudists have ingrained in him. By securing to any assemblage of ten adults all the privileges of a congregation, by making the rabbi's authority within it dependent upon the confidence of his flock, and by strictly prohibiting all interference with his rulings by any outsider, however high in position, they made congregational despotism all but impossible. Does one feel aggrieved, redress is in his hands: if he can gather nine supporters with means sufficient to procure a scroll of the Law, forthwith he declares his independence, and prays with the comfortable feeling that he has righted himself. The only check upon a too frivolous use of this right is the forfeiture of his claim on the bounty of the little community. Mutual help, namely, in sickness, and burial in case of death, are almost invariably included in their constitution. A decent funeral, and a place where his children shall have the undisputed right of reciting, in public worship, the customary prayer during the year of mourning for their departed parents, are objects so near the heart of the devout Israelite that the poorest will strive hard to secure them, and the most willful think twice and three times before he imperils them.

Some of these places bear the name Bet-hamid-rash—i. e., house of learning—because the members meet, at stated times of the day, for the purpose either of reading themselves, or having expounded to them, by competent men, the Talmud and later rabbinical writings, among them the Zohar, that vast storehouse of cabalistic speculations—not, however, for any scholarly purpose, but for edification and as part of their worship. To "learn" as it is called, is to pray.

Thought is devout and devotion is thought.* To ponder over the divine hieroglyphics of the ceremonial Law; to exercise the understanding in pilpulistic † tournaments; to discover flaws in the decision of a master, or disclose the hidden link that connects some incongruities; to strike the deeper vein of reasoning in seemingly childish and absurd sayings of the Wise; to feed the heart on the Midrashic tales and parables; to delight the mind with their sparkling witticisms and strengthen the conscience with their pointed apothegms—all this forms an element

* Emerson.

† Pilpul—from the root *palal*—is the technical term for scholastic disputations.

in the Talmudic ideal of worship; indeed, ranks so high that he who devotes himself to it for "God's sake," without any ulterior design, is exempt from the recital of the established liturgies. We thus find some literary life in these dwellings of the poor —of a stunted growth, it is true; yet, sufficient to prevent their lapsing into that brutish indifference to mental occupation which usually prevails in the lower strata of society.

In this connection we may mention the thoughtful provisions which the well-to-do Israelites make for the religious training of the children of indigent parents. In this city, for instance, there is the Hebrew Free School Association, which gathers nearly one thousand of the little folks to their schools, where a staff of eighteen teachers instruct them in the sacred tongue, in the ritual of the synagogue, and the religious precepts. We wish our readers could see the crowds of fathers and mothers whose careworn faces tell their own tales of want and suffering, but who are eager to have their offspring enrolled on the books of the society; could hear their touching appeals and adjurations when the overcrowded state of the rooms compels the directors to refuse further admission. They would not beg so hard for bread to give to their children if they had none, but they must learn to "ore" * and know the commandments of the Lord: are they not Jews? †

In that section of American Jewry, mediæval Judaism, with its lights and its shadows, continues its existence. There ceremonialism is paramount, ritual observance the standard of piety. Spiritual religion is at a low ebb. Yet, let no well-wisher of his kind judge harshly of it, or conspire for its destruction under the plea of conversion; for to the lowly son of Abraham his Law is a protection from the evils of pauperism, a refuge from the moral misery that surrounds his path. Let the friends of temperance consider that thence he derives his strength to resist the demon of strong drink, that slays his ten thousands among those not so protected. What no other legislation, secular or ecclesiastical, no temperance apostle, no priest of any church has as yet

* Orare.

† We need hardly add that the physical wants of the scholars are not forgotten, and that food and raiment are dispensed as well as spiritual nutriment.

achieved, at least not in the Western world, the "blind" rabbis have accomplished: they have reared a sober people.

On the opposite extreme we find a large class whose relations with the synagogue are of the slenderest. They have abandoned most, if not all, of the pious usages of their fathers, no longer remember the Sabbath to keep it, and limit their observance of the great festivals to a few hours' devotion with their brethren. In their houses the offices of religion are, on special occasions, such as marriage and death, respectfully tolerated rather than devoutly solicited. The rite of initiation is falling into desuetude, and the religious training of the young, if at all desired, relegated to the rabbi.

This rapid decline of a faith once so potent in the heart of every Israelite may be accounted for. While lying under the social ban, religion was his only consolation; the world asked nothing, would accept nothing, of him; God alone owned him, and looked with favor upon his offering; the world would not intrust him with the meanest office; God had anointed him to a perpetual priesthood, and desired his love and the service of his life. The more of sacrifice he offered, the more he honored himself. But when the gates were opened, and the plenitude of the world's various business in which he now was to take a part, burst upon him, the beautiful dream was dispelled, and what was a prerogative became a hinderance. If the Jew was to live as a man with men, the ceremonial chains must be riven. This was the primary thought of the first generation of reformers, perfectly just, but nevertheless stirring up doubts as to the validity and necessity of a separate religion in general.

Now, this shock to the old foundations fell in a time when the currents of skeptical thought began to rush with an ever-growing force through all the avenues of the intellectual and social life of nations. When the wind smites the four corners of the Church, and, in spite of her power, her prestige, her organization, her splendor, shakes her to the very foundation—what must be the fate of a religion that possesses none of those buttresses to support her; that has nothing but faith to rest on, and lies under popular disfavor? The Jews were already moving on an inclined plane, when the storm overtook them; no wonder they were hurled forward with a greater

velocity than the professors of other creeds; and that some were landed on the barren plains of atheism and materialism, and, losing their balance of mind, were turned into adversaries. The havoc of this "Sturm und Drang" period of Judaism is great, and causes serious losses; but it is beginning to work its own cure. It has opened the eyes of the more sober to the perils with which their faith is threatened, and electrified into new activity the *Party of the Centre*, which is encamped at equal distance from both extremes. To it we shall now briefly advert. It is the party of reform, of progress *within the boundary-lines of Judaic doctrine.* To the initiative of that party are due the new developments. The largest and most influential congregations in these States profess its doctrines, and it may be called, without presumption, the dominant feature of American Judaism.

In order to understand this movement, it should be remembered, above all things, that Jewish reform is not a revolt against the past, no rising against an oppressive church, no revulsion from a spiritual tyranny. Nothing is more remarkable in its leaders than their profound reverence for those very teachers from whose opinions they are now constrained to dissent. They are the identical men who have thrown floods of light on Hebrew literature, and partly redeemed from the dust of the libraries the vast bequests of former generations of scholars. It is they who gained for Hebrew literature the ear of the Christian scholar, so long closed against it. It is they whose industry and self-denying zeal, and varied scholarship, have contributed so much to wipe away the stigma which has been fastened on the productions of the Hebrew mind in the middle ages. Starting from the fundamental proposition that in religion form and idea must be distinguished, and that the former varies with surrounding conditions and the new developments of the latter, they look on Phariseeism as *one* of the stages through which the religious thought of the Hebrew race necessarily had to pass, in order to preserve its identity; the minute elaborations of the Law being like the small links which, joined together, become the panoply of the warrior. If the Reformers turn aside from the old path, it is not in scorn, but with a lively sense of gratitude to those whose self-sacrificing piety saved Judaism from perishing under the load it had to bear. But they claim, and

must claim, the right to do for their own generation what the wisest of the past did for theirs. It is true that their labors have so far been largely absorbed in pruning the old tree, but not wholly so. The accumulation of rituals was so vast, and the connection between form and idea so close, that it required decades of cautious work to remodel the one without serious injury to the other. This merely preparatory period is now passing away, and that of reconstruction has commenced. The lost uniformity will be replaced by a union based on modern principles; the worship, which hitherto has been only pruned of excrescences, is now being replenished with new ideas. The Jewish pulpit begins to draw within its discussions topics of universal interest; the Sabbaths and the feasts, which were chiefly retrospective, are now made expressive of the sentiments which rule in the hearts of the living; the religious training of the children is brought into harmony with the general culture under which they are educated; and a most hopeful beginning has been made in the establishment of scholastic institutions for the purpose of planting on this continent what the Germans call "Hebrew science." * These, and similar signs, leave no doubt that Jewish reform has now entered upon that career for which all preceding endeavors have broken the way.

Founded on the principle of historical development, Jewish reform does not claim finality for any of its creations. True to the genius of Judaism, it has formulated no creed, and exacts no subscription to dogmas. It reserves for future generations the rights which it claims for itself; nay, the great hope by which it is animated postulates the freedom of future progression.

It will thus be seen that the modern Israelite, so far from dreading the liberal ideas of religion which our time has matured, welcomes them to his sanctuary. He sees no antagonism between them and the spirit of the faith which he teaches. The new liturgies that have been arranged for the reformed worship, whatever their shortcomings, are yet significant for the broad

* Two preparatory schools of the future Hebrew college have been in operation for some time: one founded at Cincinnati by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and one by the Temple Emanu-El, of this city. Both promise excellent results. The training of the Hebrew rabbi for his office must begin early in life, as otherwise he can never thoroughly master the immense literature that forms his special domain.

humanity which pervades them—as evidence of the unreserve with which the compilers accept the emancipation of religion from the more contracted views of the past. All the invocations in which the oppressed heart of the down-trodden race sought relief; all exaggerated notions of racial sanctity and divine election; all the grosser elements of the Messianic idea; all the mystic and cabalistic deposits which were swept into the synagogue by the various religions with which the Jews came in contact during their wide wanderings; all the laments over the lost glories of the sacrificial service, and the yearnings after restoration of national supremacy—have either entirely disappeared, or been spiritualized. Only the framework, and the typical parts of the old ritual, have been retained, and the room thus gained filled up with devotions in which modern Judaism is fully reflected.

Finally, the relation of Judaism to other forms of faith has passed through a purifying process. The prophetic utterance that "from the rising of the sun even unto the going down thereof, great is the name of the Lord among the nations," which, though sometimes obscured, has never been entirely forgotten in Judaism, is now proclaimed in more than its native force. The root-idea of the unity of God now enunciates the unity of the human race, and the definite recognition that He who revealed himself in Israel had his witnesses in all ages and in all climes. In the grossest perversions of the religious impulse the modern Jew still hears the throbbing of the human heart; and, although he opposes all kinds of idolatries as firmly as did his fathers in darker days, his judgment is tempered with pity, and his opposition softened by the love to which he holds all men, as men, entitled. He is no adversary of Christianity; no enemy to the Church. He recognizes their great services to the human race, the zeal and devotion of so many of their children, and praises them in the gates for the many noble monuments of their charity. What he resists is their deviations from the truth as it was delivered to him. This he dares not compromise. But he rejoices in every sign, and they are increasing day by day, that the chasm which separated the daughters from their mother is narrowing, and that bridges are being thrown across it on which those who were, but never ought to have been, estranged from

each other, may meet for the exchange of assurances of restored friendship. Christian churches have invited Jewish ministers to their pulpits; and thus, after eighteen centuries of bootless strife, returned the hospitality which the first apostles of Christianity met in the synagogues. We honor the men who make such professions of liberality and love of truth, and adopt such practical methods of proving that religion can live with freedom of discussion, and may as assuredly draw men nearer to each other as hitherto she has separated them!

We shall consider our humble efforts in these pages abundantly rewarded, if they contribute, in even a slight measure, to the increase of that good-will toward men in the announcement of which Christianity glories, and Judaism finds its highest aim.

GUSTAV GOTTHEIL.

VI.

THE OUTLOOK.

The Republican party had no leaders. It looked up to great and earnest men, but it had no half-dozen leaders. Wade, Chase and Giddings, Stevens and Cameron, Seward and Greeley, Lincoln, Sumner, Stanton, Andrew, Wilson, Hale and Fessenden, Palfrey and Adams, were equals; no one, or three of them, claimed precedence. The cement of the party was a principle; not any idolatry, like that which made the Whig cling to and echo Webster and Clay. The men who created the Republican party were men of convictions. They sought, more or less directly, but in dead earnest, to limit and kill slavery. The men whom the Republican party has created are not men of convictions. They seek only to use for party or personal ends the power they have inherited.

Lacking its old cement—a great purpose—the party is falling to pieces, like bowlders from a wall without mortar. Its managers have been so dull and timid in using their great victory, they have so wasted their opportunities, that they have suffered the Southern question—their whole capital—to fall prematurely into abeyance. On their own theory they stand to-day with no *raison d'être*, no excuse for their existence. Their strength lay in a public opinion well informed as to Southern purpose and the nature of Southern civilization, and watchful of the possible reaction from its sore defeat. The events of the ten years before the war were what taught and trained that opinion. But a generation has come upon the stage since. The active young men, the van of party movement, were then in their cradles. They knew nothing of those events as they took place, and the history of them is not yet written. We have heard more than one man, twenty-five years old, ask, with natural ignorance, "Was there ever a mob in Boston, and what was it about?"

Aware how slowly such a conspiracy as that of the South surrenders the hope of success, it was the Republicans' duty to keep alive at white heat this lesson and vigilance born of the war and the years that preceded it. Instead of this they have, on system, sought to dull those impressions and preach forgetfulness, while constantly lowering party feeling and purpose by personal squabbles and debates on trifles. One by one the men of convictions passed away, leaving ambitious intriguers in their seats.

Meanwhile, these are confronted by a party of convictions—the South—false and devilish convictions, but still earnest ones. The Republicans hold to-day the same relation to the rehabilitated South that the Whigs did to Free-Soilers in 1849. There were only two distinct points in the moral heavens of 1849: one was Calhoun, the other was Garrison. Clay and Webster shirked Calhoun, not daring to face him. Garrison met him squarely, face to face; and, when Wade and Sumner entered the Senate in 1851, the wires of Calhounism and Garrisonism were joined and the war began.

The South rules to-day in Congress rightfully. In the long-run brains rule, but in critical moments courage rules. Though the North is the abler section, the South has the courage of conviction, and, lion-like, never waits to count the sheep. What the South will finally do with her victory possibly even Southern men themselves do not now know. She waits on events. It is fair to confess that she has more than courage. She has the wit to see and quickness to seize opportunities. She never mistakes her men. She knew Andrew Johnson, and reached him by assassination. He was a character easy of explanation. Poverty and birthplace, race and the giddiness begot by success, fully explain him. But Hayes, the gift Northern blundering has made to the South, is a phenomenon hard to explain. No ordinary amount of folly or wickedness will account for him, and he is of too narrow capacity to justify us in attributing his course to any large design. But, sphinx or otherwise, he has served to hold the stirrup for the South to vault into the saddle.

The first step in her plan and progress is clear enough. The negro enfranchised has added largely to her political strength. With Hayes's aid she has practically disfranchised the negro, and now the white aristocracy wields this whole increased power;

this she knows and feels. The insolent speech which Senator Gordon lately flung at Boston dough-faces, if read between the lines, frankly confesses this. Place that beside the letter from Mr. Jefferson Davis, read at the Macon celebration, and the two reveal clearly the unchanged determination of the South to rule, as heretofore, by an oligarchy built up within the Union, or secure outside of it.

But the keenest suffering at the South to-day does not come from the chagrin of defeated hopes. It is real, naked, pitiable poverty, which presses on classes once wealthy. Her first effort, the first use of her new power, will be to draw money to her section. There is a superfluous article in the Constitution which forbids the payment of the Confederate debt. There will be no such attempt. That debt is mostly held abroad. The South is never anxious to pay any debts, least of all debts due to other nations or communities. But she will bend all her energies to secure payment of claims which directly enrich her own citizens. To create such and fasten them on the national Treasury will be her first effort. That Confederate soldiers will soon receive the same pensions as our own veterans seems a foregone conclusion.

The vast amount of Southern claims, in different forms, now registered at Washington, is the first line of this assault. Whether Republican or Democrat rules, these claims will, most of them, be paid, unless they promptly rouse such indignation and provoke such resistance at the North as do not seem now likely to arise. The effect of more than doubling the national debt any one can calculate. One good result would probably follow. The South, then interested equally with the North in the national indebtedness, would frown on any mad counsel of repudiation from her own quarter, and resist such from the North, if, maddened by this unjust burden, any Northern party should propose interference in any way with the public debt.

Mr. Potter's plan of investigation no doubt contemplates an attempt to put Tilden into the Executive chair. There is ample reason for the movement on the part of Mr. Tilden's friends, He may well doubt his chance of succeeding Mr. Hayes. The next President will be obliged to stand on a soft-money platform. Though Mr. Tilden would be ready to do that, to secure the presidency, the clique which supports him and makes his strength

could not be so transferred. If Mr. Tilden is ever to be President, his only chance seems to be that of filling the rest of Mr. Hayes's term. Besides, to wield the Executive patronage for the remaining half of that term would insure a Democratic succession. There are now three chances out of four of such a succession. But, while the slip and lip remain so proverbially connected, it is well to take a bond of fate, and run no risks.

Whatever be the result of Mr. Potter's investigation, his victory shows that the prudent men of the South are driven headlong, incapable of the least resistance, to dangerous courses by the worst elements of the Northern Democracy and by their own mad followers at home. The pretty speeches of Lamar and Gordon, even if not absolute hypocrisy, are only drops of rose-water flung on the mad surface of Southern hate. What was Stephens's protest, or Lamar's opinion on the Silver Bill, or Gordon's on resumption, when their constituents growled dissent? Mere chips on Niagara. Mr. Potter's success shows that when once in the saddle the old Bourbon South will rule, and either warp the nation to her reactionary mood, or drive the North off by provoking her to secede. If the Southern leaders can manage their followers, they will never again leave the Union. To rule inside of it with such rigor, or wrench it to such injustice as will place the North under their feet, or drive it out—this is the lesson learned at Appomattox.

The South will never again voluntarily take up arms against the Union. But Mr. Potter's success reveals that, nevertheless, such madness is within the possible future. This constitutes the real value of the transaction, the revelation it makes of the condition of the solid South; its continued vassalage to the reckless and dangerous class, which, in 1861, dragged a timid and reluctant aristocracy, and their footstool—the Northern Democrat—into rebellion. At any moment another gun fired at Sumter may plunge the nation into war.

It is waste of time to point us to the words of Southern men. With every affirmation in their history falsified, every pledge deliberately broken, how can the most partial friend of the South ask any man to put faith to-day in the statement or promise of Southern white men? Their whole civil life has been a transparent hypocrisy. The words justice, order, equality, toleration,

liberty, are not used by them in the sense in which the civilized world accepts them. Even Calhoun, on every subject except slavery one of the most pure, sincere, and honest of our statesmen, the moment he spoke of the negro, stooped to equivocate and falsify. The gross mistakes and intentional misstatements of the census of 1840 had been brought to his notice, both officially and otherwise; yet, with shameless effrontery, he paraded them in an official document, meant for European eyes, as well-established and acknowledged facts.

No matter with what oath of loyalty you bind the South, experience warns the most sanguine optimist that no thoughtful man can feel sure that one flag will rule this belt of the continent fifty years hence. Any man who desires that it should must seek to gain time. In time the elements of modern civilization —wealth, industry, toleration, order, law, education, manners, sense of honor, and habit of speaking the truth—will invade and slowly permeate the barbarism of the South, remodeling her into conformity to the nineteenth century. If rash and revolutionary attempts can be postponed long enough, there is a fair chance that the States east of the Mississippi may remain for another century one nation.

The guarantee of the Union was the presence in the South of six million blacks with their million votes. They were the natural, hearty, and inalienable allies of the North and the Union. In their presence there God gave us an indestructible defense and permanent guarantee of the Union. They needed no argument and no appeal. Centuries of oppression had taught them where their safety lay. Fairly treated and recognized, they would have been a bulwark against which Southern plot and violence would have alike harmlessly broken for a century to come. It did not seem possible that any folly could be so gross as to sacrifice such an alliance. They have clung to the Republican party, in the face of starvation and death, as no other class could have done. Taught by long experience that their old masters were inevitably hypocrites whenever and wherever the black man was concerned, grateful to the Union for liberty, they have refused to believe the duplicity of the Republican party, or see its pitiable weakness. But human nature must, in the long-run, sink to the control of self-interest. It ought to be no surprise if soon the

negro, poor, landless, and deserted by the North, should see how weak he is by the side of the white race near by. Then one portion, terrified and in despair, will stay away from the polls; another, needing bread, or blinded, as half the North is, and the other half pretends to be, by Southern profession, will swell the Democratic vote. If the Union lasts, the negro will be its savior and cement. If the Union is broken, posterity will never cease to wonder at the incredible folly which flung away and alienated its only and natural ally.

While the Republican party has allowed the Southern question to fall into abeyance, it is confronted by another issue, which it has not had statesmanship enough either to conciliate or to use. This is finance. It is not too much to say that the question which most keenly interests three men out of five, and possibly three men out of four, is finance. On this the South and West are natural allies and closely wedded: the ruling class at the South is wretchedly poor, and her first interest is how to get relief; the West lacks capital to open her hidden resources. This she can get only from the East at ruinous rates of interest. This bondage she seeks to break. The Southern question, which held right and wrong in its grasp, appealing to the manhood and rousing the enthusiasm of men, properly treated, might have delayed this material question for some years. The moment men, supposed to be statesmen, proclaimed that lofty hour ended, the mass naturally sunk to the care of their material interests. When Senators and journals ridiculed the "Bloody Shirt," they laughed their power away, as Cervantes did the manhood of Spain.

Common prudence would have been quick to seize this new weapon of finance. Henry Wilson's keen eye, careful only for success, confessed this, the summer before he died. Speaking of the first issue joined on finance, in the Ohio election of 1875, when the Democratic party seized this question, he said to us: "It is a great mistake; *we* should have started the greenback cry; how ruinous to let the Democrats get ahead of us!" If wise counsels had prevailed, this issue might for some time have been delayed. But, once afoot, it will crowd all others out.

The Democratic party, which is only the South's servant, or the South itself in another dress, has taken eager possession of it. The speed with which the leaders surrender the old dogmas

of the party on specie and fall into line with the Greenback men, shows how strong such leaders think the new force is. They are sharp bidders for the new party's support. But it need be no surprise if we soon see the Republicans contending in the same race, and accepting a large portion of the platform of the rising power. Their waste of former chances, the mournful folly with which they slatterned away the noblest opportunity the age has given to mould a nation righteously for years to come, forbids us to be surprised at any mulish or short-sighted mistake. But, should they be wise in time, the participation by both the great parties in the movement to remodel finance might possibly delay the formation of any new party, and lift Grant a third time into the presidency.

As matters stand to-day, with no keen interest in any question except finance, the South has the choice of the next President. Conciliating the West by her concurrence on finance, she holds all the cards. Unless a radical change is wrought in the coming year, a Western Democrat on a soft-money platform will be the next President, and some Southern Confederate leader, civil or military, will be Vice-President. Such do we consider the strength of this new financial issue if left unchallenged.

Misrepresented and vilified by the Eastern press in a style that betrayed its lack of argument and its insincerity, the greenback issue has rapidly gained strength by force of its truth and necessity. The convention at Toledo, and the several State conventions, have been larger and made of men as respectable in character and intellect as those who launched the Free-Soil party at Buffalo and elsewhere. There are a score of causes that contribute to the present distress; and there are double the number of theories which claim to be remedies for these evils: but there is a substantial agreement among the millions who call themselves Greenbackers. They claim that the Government shall issue all the bill or note currency; that it shall be made of paper; be legal tender for all debts, public and private, and, at present, most of them claim that it shall be convertible into a Government bond bearing a low rate of interest.

Whether that interest shall be paid in gold or not, and whether the amount of currency shall be regulated automatically, or by some direct act of the Government; whether a lower rate

of interest shall be secured by direct loans from the State, or may possibly come from more abundant money—there is a wide difference of opinion.

The new party is a unit in denying both the justice and the policy of resumption. Resumption changes, by statute, the relations between creditor and debtor. In the stress of war, when self-preservation is the highest law, Government may make any change in those relations, as it rightfully did when it first issued greenbacks. But, in profound peace, what right has Government, in deference to the theories of any clique, to enact a law for the sole and specific purpose of making every debt a heavier burden, and leaving the creditor richer than he was before?

The Greenbackers guide their feet by the light of experience. The ruin which Ricardo regretted to have brought on his country is warning enough for them against another such crime. They accept the verdict of English statesmen as Greville records it, familiar and intimate as he was with all of them ("Journals of George IV. and William IV.," vol. ii., p. 145):

"If we look back through the long course of Peel's life, and inquire what have been the great political measures with which his name is particularly connected, we shall find, first, the return to cash payments, which almost everybody now agrees was a FATAL MISTAKE, though it would not be fair to visit him with extraordinary censure for a measure which was sanctioned by almost all the great financial authorities."

In the great debate of 1830 the resumption act of 1819 was mercilessly attacked. Mr. Western, one of the Tory leaders, styled it "one of the most mischievous measures that was ever devised for the destruction of a nation." Peel stood alone amid the storm. Mr. R. B. Pullan, of Cincinnati, has aptly cited the piteous appeal he made to the forbearance of his ruined countrymen:

"He expressed his willingness to abandon the opinions to which he was supposed to be unalterably pledged, if benefit would result. But he was convinced, if any error had been committed in establishing the system, we should only be exposed to *still greater evils* than those we had suffered by again doing anything to unsettle the currency of the country."

The Greenback party demands that Government shall issue all the note-currency. The power over the currency is too great a one to be trusted to private corporations. In the memorable debate of the Commons, 1819, Ricardo said bank-directors regulate currency and so fix prices, "a most formidable power;" and Calhoun (October 3, 1837) says, "This power puts our destinies in their hands." Again (September 19, 1839), he warns us of this peril. Jefferson writes to Eppes (June 24, 1813), "Bank-paper must be suppressed, and the circulation restored to the nation, to whom it belongs."

The Greenback party has come to the conclusion that there is no need to tie the currency to specie. Paper answers every purpose. The plan and notion of a specie basis, at any rate in this country, has always been a sham. Mr. Sears, of New Jersey, well styled it "bankruptcy organized." A New York bank president, the late John Earl Williams, said the attempts of banks of issue and deposit to keep to specie "always have been, and, in the nature of things, always must be, a failure." It is only a device to enslave the money-market to what Chatham called "the cannibals of 'Change Alley." Nearly a hundred years ago, Franklin declared that, where two nations had the same basis for currency, the debtor nation would be the slave of its creditor—a statement of which Boutwell felt the truth when, on his proposing to bring home from London twenty or thirty millions of gold belonging to the United States, the Bank of England prevented it by threatening, if he did so, that they would cripple every bank in New York. Mr. H. C. Carey has saved for us an instructive anecdote:

"In 1838, Mr. Albert Gallatin, then President of the North American Bank, of New York, at a convention of bank presidents, said pleasantly, but yet most truly, 'We all know that, while a bank-note bears upon its face a promise to pay the amount of its denomination in coin, it carries with it the implied condition that it be not asked for.'"

To the lady who told her chair-maker that all his new chairs broke down, he answered, in the exact tone of a specie-basis advocate, "Why, madam, I think your friends must have actually sat in them!"

Sir John Lubbock found that only fifty cents of coin were

used in a hundred dollars' worth of business. Prof. Jevons says the whole fabric of England's vast commerce rests on the improbability that her merchants will ever want, at one time, one-twentieth part of the gold they have a right to demand. He also states that, before checks were used in the London clearing-house, fifteen million dollars of debt were settled by the use of one million dollars of bank-bills and one hundred dollars of coin!

England and France—the two nations to which gold naturally and almost inevitably runs, since they are creditor states—have been obliged to resort to paper currency upon every emergency. The specie Bank of England, since she was remodeled in 1844, has thrice been obliged to beg the Government to save her from suspension. If England, the richest nation in the world, the reservoir and refuge of coin, cannot, without subterfuge, support one specie-paying bank in London, the world's business centre, how can we expect to hoard gold enough to form a real basis for two thousand banks scattered over a continent? Franklin ("Works," vol. iv., p. 82) says:

"Paper-money, well founded, has great advantages over gold and silver, being more light and convenient for handling large sums, and not likely to have its volume reduced by demands for exportation. No method has hitherto been formed to establish a medium of trade equal in all its advantages to bills of credit made a general legal tender."

Even Ricardo, the high-priest of the bullionists, the father of the present British system, says:

"A regulated paper currency is so great an improvement in commerce that I should greatly regret if prejudice should induce us to return to a system of less utility. The introduction of the precious metals for the purposes of money may with truth be considered as one of the most important steps toward the improvement of commerce and the arts of civilized life. But it is no less true that, with the advancement of knowledge and science, we discover that it would be another improvement to banish them again from the employment to which, during the less enlightened period, they had been so advantageously applied" ("Works," by McCulloch, p. 404).

"It is not necessary that paper-money should be payable in specie to secure its value; only that its quantity should be regu-

lated according to the value of the metal which is declared to be the standard" (Ricardo's "Plan for Extinction of Bank-Notes").

It seems conceivable that this "regulation" might be secured by making the paper exchangeable for a bond.

Calhoun's opinions on paper currency do not exactly coincide with those of the new party, but they cover almost every principle we assert. February 5, 1840, he said: "The present currency is incurably bad. It is impossible to give it solidity or stability." Again (September 19, 1839), he said:

"A paper currency, in some form, if not necessary, is almost indispensable in the financial and commercial operations of civilized and extensive communities. In many respects it has a vast superiority over a metallic currency, especially in great and extended transactions, by its greater cheapness, lightness, and the facility of determining the amount. . . . No convertible paper is suitable for currency;" and March 22, 1838, he affirms the right of Congress to make and use paper-money.

The Greenback party maintains that gold is no trustworthy standard of value. During the rebellion, gold—measured by the prices of twenty of our great staples—varied more than any one of them did, except cotton, the cause of the war. Jevons, after measuring gold by the prices of more than a hundred other articles, says that from 1789 to 1809 gold fell 46 per cent.; and from 1809 to 1849 gold rose 145 per cent., "rendering Government annuities and all fixed payments, extending over this period, almost two and one-half times as valuable as they were in 1809." From 1849 to 1875 gold has fallen, Jevons says, at least 20 per cent. Henry Fawcett (Manual) thinks gold has fallen, during the last twenty-five years, 25 per cent. Prof. Jevons further states that, between 1822 and 1825, gold fell 17 per cent.; and between 1852 and 1857 gold fell 31 per cent.

Now, while gold has thus varied during the last ninety years, there is in England one commodity which never changes; that is consols and shares in the Bank of England; which practically are public funds, since they are in effect guaranteed by the nation. From 1789 to 1875, both inclusive, the average price of a consol was £81. If, as Jevons says, from 1809 to 1849 gold more than doubled in value, the consol never changed; its average price,

those forty-one years, was just what it was before and after, that is £81. If, as Jevons and Fawcett say, since 1809 gold has fallen one-quarter, consols have not fallen; they have sold during those years at an average of £92. So, of the bank-shares, the interest on their selling price from 1789 to 1872 was the slightest trifle above 4 per cent. During the forty-one years (1809–1849) that Jevons says gold rose to double, the interest was just the slightest trifle below 4 per cent. (4.04 in one case, 3.94 in the other). During these last twenty-five years, when gold has fallen one-quarter, the interest on a bank share is 3.67 per cent.

It cannot be pretended that gold regulated, or held even ratio with these prices. Between 1797 and 1820 (twenty-four years, all paper) consols averaged £63½; and the interest received on the cost of a bank-share was 4.32 per cent. Between 1789 and 1808 (twenty years, half paper and half coin) consols averaged £65½; and bank interest was 4.17 per cent. Between 1811 and 1816 (five years) gold rose highest, averaging 30 per cent. above paper, yet consols averaged £62; and bank interest was 4.25 per cent. (Fenn's "Funds").

Now, let men explain the unchanging values of these stocks as they please, their unchanging value remains a fact. Remember what these last eighty-four years have done and seen—the French Revolution and Napoleon wars, Waterloo, paper-money, riots, famines, California, the Crimean War, the Franco-Prussian War, steam, the use of cotton, extension of the ballot, the telegraph, and our rebellion. Still through all, the ebb tide and the flood, the sunshine and the tempest, the funds of England have steadied with unchanging keel. What explains it? Their basis is a Government bond, at a low rate of interest, but *sure* as "death and the taxes." This unchanging relation of interest to the capital invested is the strong tie which prevents all variations in value.

Hence Greenbackers, taking note of this, propose to found our national currency on a Government bond, bearing a low rate of interest. Why should not our bond be as unvarying as that of England? She is encompassed by trouble and dangers, half a dozen warlike rivals, and constant risk of international complications. We have only one cloud on our horizon—the South; otherwise a clear sky, and the ocean for a wall of defense. Why

should not our bond be better than hers? Do you say a Democratic Government cannot be trusted as fully as a monarchy? Ricardo thought a free government could be better trusted to issue convertible paper-money than an arbitrary one.

But this fear of inflation does not daunt the Greenback party. They reason thus: the moment you leave simple barter and use representative money, symbols, that moment the power to inflate begins. This power must always reside somewhere in civilized states which have ceased to use barter. The only real question is *where* shall it be trusted? Under our present system it rests in the hands of bank directors. Ricardo and all other writers allow that those who increase and diminish, at their pleasure, the currency (not note currency merely, but discounts, checks, credits, notes, and coin) have the power to change prices at their will. To-day our bank directors have this power. The New York City banks increased this currency $2,957,200 in one month, September, 1874, and decreased it $5,000,000 in one week of March, 1875. They thus changed the value of every commodity in that city. To inflate in the same proportion, Congress must pour out and keep out $50,000,000 a week.

We claim that the nature of our institutions justifies us in trusting this great power with the mass of business-men.

Bonamy Price asks: "How do we know how many hats to make? Somebody counts the heads. How do we know how many shoes to make? Somebody counts the feet." The Greenback men ask, "Who counts them?" Of course the business-men. So of currency. It is the business-men who can best decide how much, at any moment, is needed by forty million people.

They will keep it in the form of bonds, or draw it forth in greenbacks, as the hour dictates. They will decide, under this elastic system, how much currency is needed by a nation not rich, but widely scattered and marvelously busy; one whose harvests can feed the world, and her mines supply it with metal and coal; while rivers and mountains and thousands of miles divide prairie and seaport, plantation and spindle, mine and forge. Indeed, the greenback movement is a revolt against a system of finance which rests the power of inflation in the hands of a few hundred bank directors, and lets them play with values at their pleasure. This greenback movement, in its essence, is the assertion that,

when our fathers settled it that the people were competent to govern themselves, they meant to include among the points as to which they were competent, the question of finance, as well as marriage, crimes, real estate, wills, and other matters of government. The greenback movement is a revolt against the notion that, in ordinary matters, the people can govern themselves, but on questions of finance they must be kept under perpetual guardianship, and be the wards of rich men.

Men call this movement delusion and fanaticism. What is fanaticism? It is enthusiasm blinding judgment. It is prejudice—obstinately clinging to theories in spite of facts that disprove them. Let us ask, then, who to-day are the fanatics, judging by this rule. Look at facts, the world over. Whenever during the last century either of our great nations has seen its existence threatened by civil war or foreign assault, instantly that nation has run to the shelter of paper currency and generally been thus enabled to survive the storm. This is fact, not a dream. Does it prove that paper-money is necessarily ruin and shipwreck? Does it not rather look as if a paper currency had some quality in it that called forth to the last dollar the resources of a people, and so stimulated their energies that they could avail themselves of all their possible and hidden power? When a man strips to fight for his life, he puts himself in the condition and posture to do his best. When the nation girds herself for a last desperate struggle for existence, what does history tell us she has uniformly done? History tells us that a nation in such extremity has uniformly thrown off every incumbrance, stopped every drain on her resources, stimulated every possible power of production, economized all her means and guarded herself as carefully as possible from all foreign interference with her business prosperity. How has she secured and effected all this? History answers, "By resorting to a paper currency."

There need be no fear of communism. Capital and labor have no dividing line here. Like the colors on a dove's neck, they join and unite everywhere. We have mingled freely with working-men, and never yet met one who did not believe and proclaim that the interests of capital and labor were one.

Communism in Europe is the righteous and honorable resistance of a heart-broken and poverty-stricken people to a despotism

which flaunts its insolent and cruel rule in the faces of honest men. Communism there is evidence of life. When "order reigns in Warsaw," it is evidence of moral and spiritual death. We disown and denounce the attack on the German emperor. Assassination is not rebellion. It is the act of a coward, and does nothing but harm. But oppression, which maketh wise men mad, does not often teach the sufferer logic. God means that such unjust power shall be insecure, and every move of the giant, prostrate in chains, whether it be to lift a single dagger, or stir a city's revolt, is a lesson in justice. Every line in our history, every interest of civilization, bids us rejoice when the tyrant grows pale and the slave rebellious. Of course, every act by which ignorant violence injures its own cause is to be deplored; and we cannot but pity the suffering of any human being, however richly deserved. But we must not let regret for the first, or pity for the last, confuse our moral sense. Humanity gains. Chatham rejoiced that our fathers rebelled. For every single reason they alleged, Europe can bring forward twenty; each one twenty times bitterer than any Hancock and Adams could give. Sam Johnson's standing toast, in Oxford port, was, "Success to the first insurrection of slaves in Jamaica!" a sentiment which Southey echoed. "Eschew cant," said the old moralist; and, of all the cants that are canted in this canting world, though the cant of piety may be the worst, the cant of an American hypocrite bewailing European communism is the most disgusting.

But we have no communism here. The elements that breed it are not present here. Strikes are not communism. They are resistance to single specific wrong. A freemasonry of assassins, like the "Molly Maguires," is not communism. Labor disowns them. Pennsylvania, which breeds ignorance and then cheats it, which leaves boys all day in the bowels of the earth to grow up in ignorance into tools and voters, may expect to see her labor, like that of Europe, driven to the task at the point of the bayonet. But even she, un-American as she is, has no communism in her borders. Last summer, when the dark brood of dangerous men that usually skulks from the law surged into light, it showed itself only the *débris* of thieves and tramps, the scum of brothels and grog-shops. Baillie Nicol Jarvie's bulwark of order—something in the pocket and decent clothes—still stands us in hand. Three

fifths of Americans have something to lose, and half the rest hopes soon to have. The mass is uneasy because educated men betray and capital plots to rule them. "The capital of the country is organized at last, and we shall see whether Congress will dare to fly in its face"—this is the insolent tone of the press. If it did not stir indignation and provoke resistance, we might well despair of the republic.

The relations of labor and capital here are unlike those of other lands. When Webster said that political economy was not a science, he meant it was no absolute science. Fox thought so, and the best political economists describe it as a system of methods to be cautiously fitted to time and place. The Greenback party is trying, by successive and cautious trials, to develop an American system of finance. Its disciples are aware that in finance so many and such varied forces are at work that one might as well prophesy what form the kaleidoscope will take at any turn as prophesy the moneyed future. When Fessenden assumed the Treasury Department, confessing, "I know literally nothing about finance," he only confessed what McCulloch concealed, when "rushing in," as certain characters are said to do, he ruined a generation.

These relations of capital and labor are the angriest and the most important ones we have to deal with. Labor and capital are the tools civilization needs and uses. Both are to be protected. But labor, as it is human life, has the first claim. Out of the gross earnings of any business the first expense to be met is wages. Such wages as men can comfortably live on are first to be paid; then a safety-fund is to be provided for burdensome debts, in order that capital may be secured against risk or loss; what is left may be divided as dividend or profits to stockholders. What constitutes "such wages as men can comfortably live on?" Who shall settle and define the amount of these? This is the ground of the present quarrel, and peace will never come till this is settled. The employed have something to sell—it is labor. Men who have coal, metal, or corn to sell, do not let the buyer fix the price. The price is settled after mutual conference. The employed claim the same right of settling the price of what they have to sell (that is, labor) in the same way, that is, by mutual conference.

Corporations that employ a large number of working-men

should, from time to time, appoint a committee to meet a committee of working-men. Before such joint committee should be laid open all the details of the business. After mutual consultation such committee should decide the amount of wages to be paid. If they cannot agree, an umpire should be chosen to make the final decision. Such a method has been occasionally resorted to here, and for twenty years in England, with good results. Christianity dictates and sound political economy indorses such a procedure. How broad and sound must be, in years, the education gained by working-men acting on such committees and brought to the close, practical consideration of such large interests; acting, too, under such grave responsibilities! The effect has been very marked in England. Mr. Mundella, member of the House of Commons, assured us he had known instances where the working-men on such committees proposed even a greater reduction of wages than that named by the employers; declaring as the result of their examination that the corporation could not safely pay as large wages as it offered. This shows how acting under grave responsibility educates men, both morally and intellectually.

We have more than enough of the babble and chaff of "supply and demand." That is a political economy which forgets God, abolishes hearts, stomachs, and hot blood, and builds its world as children do, out of tin soldiers and blocks of wood. Here every man reads, votes, and carries arms. The physical force, the voting majority, and a large share of the intellectual ability, are in the possession of the employed. Hence such questions are far more complicated than in countries where despotism holds iron sway over disfranchised ignorance. Equally out of place and absurd is the argument that capital will only pay what it pleases, and labor must submit. That is slavery. The millions employed in mines, factories, and on railroads, have usually that one trade and no other; they cannot easily shift into other employments. Very few families of working-men have means, when turned out of work, to travel hundreds of miles in search of other employers; hence the majority of the employed are chained to one place and to one trade. Saying to such men, "You shall have no voice in fixing your own wages, and you shall take what is offered to you, or starve," is slavery. No

American will, or ought to submit to that. If the day ever comes when, by any means, Americans are obliged to submit permanently to that, a republic will here be impossible. The only just, safe, and lasting basis of peace is that which calls labor into conference, and allows it a full share in settling the rate of wages.

We abhor and denounce all violence, every assault on private right or property, on the liberty of the individual working-man, and above all on life. But these outbreaks are transient and exceptional. In spite of them every thoughtful man must rejoice that the laboring-men are awake, intelligent, and independent. We rejoice in the clear judgment which enables the working-man to discover the danger which threatens. We rejoice in his readiness to resist a state of affairs that degrades him, threatens to undermine republican institutions, and to condemn his children to want, ignorance, and dependence. It is one of the chief benefits of education, civilization, and progress, that they make, and are intended to make, such violations of right, such injustice and oppression, dangerous and almost impossible. The inevitable dangers (and there are inevitable dangers) which attend such injustice are enough to rouse the keenest anxiety of capitalists. That is spur enough to quicken their consent to do justice. We counsel working-men to frown on resorts to violence; it can only delay the remedy they seek. Let them rely on agitation, discussion, and on associations for mutual help and protection; but only such as discountenance violence and abstain from all interference with the rights and free action of individual workmen. Voters under a representative government, let them unite in political action, and appeal to the moral forces of the age. The necessities which underlie free institutions and the soundest maxims of political economy are their strong allies, and the conscience of mankind is on their side.

The duty of the Republican party is plain. It still holds within its lines all the elements which attract and deserve confidence; it still has the power to lead; only courage and decision are wanting. It should place itself at the head of the new movement. It cannot buy, but it can absorb, the new party. Plainly, now, the first duty is to take care for the material interests of the nation. If it were possible to rouse the public and begin at once a crusade to execute justice and save the Union, that, in this

crisis, would still be the first duty. Conflict of arms and bloodshed may, at any moment, reveal to blinded eyes this duty. But while this delusion of peace without purity, of peace not based on justice, lasts; while the South imagines the North a coward only because she is foolish, and the North accepts, in the South, a hypocrite for a brother, labor claims every ear and every hand.

Public opinion is too strong to be resisted; too wise to be long misled. The people, it has been said, do not see, they feel. They have felt the tyranny of a selfish system of finance which corrupted men by giving them free chance to steal. They are opening their eyes to detect its errors. Sure as the rising of the sun, and calmly as morn ripens to noonday, they will get ready for that keener battle which is impending—the battle for impartial liberty and equality before the law.

The white South hates universal suffrage; the so-called cultivated North distrusts it. Journal and college, social science convention, and the pulpit, discuss the propriety of restraining it. Timid scholars tell their dread of it. Evarts and his committee, appointed to inquire why the New York City government is a failure, were not wise enough, or did not dare to point out the real cause, the tyranny of that tool of the demagogue—the corner grog-shop; but they advise taking away the ballot from the poor citizen. No wonder the humbler class looks on the whole scene with alarm. They see their dearest right in peril. When the easy class conspires to steal, what wonder the humbler class draws together to defend itself! True, universal suffrage is a terrible power; and with all the great cities brought into subjection to the dangerous classes by grog, and Congress sitting to register the decrees of capital, both sides may well dread the next move. No doubt universal suffrage endangers peace and threatens property. But there is something more valuable than wealth, there is something more sacred than peace. As Humboldt says, "The finest fruit earth holds up to its Maker is a man." To ripen, lift, and educate man is the first duty. Trade, law, learning, science, and religion, are only the scaffolding wherewith to build a man. Despotism looks down into a poor man's cradle, and knows it can crush resistance and curb ill-will. Democracy sees the ballot in that baby-hand, and selfishness bids her put integrity on one side of those baby footsteps and intelligence on

the other, lest her own hearth be in peril. Thank God for his method of taking bonds of wealth and culture to share all their blessings with the humblest soul he gives to their keeping! The American should cherish as serene a faith as his fathers had. Instead of seeking a coward safety by battening down the hatches and putting men back into chains, he should recognize that God places him in this peril that he may work out a noble security by concentrating all moral forces to lift this weak, rotting, and dangerous mass into sunlight and health. The fathers touched their highest level when with stout-hearted and serene faith they trusted God that it was safe to leave men with all the rights he gave them. Let us be worthy of their blood, and save this sheet-anchor of the race—universal suffrage, God's church, God's school, God's method of gently binding men into Commonwealths in order that they may at last melt into brothers.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

VII.

DEBTOR AND CREDITOR.

I. R. P. Bland, M. C. II. Henry V. Poor.

I.

It is from the effect of monetary legislation upon the relation of debtors and creditors that the antagonism arises between the interests of the West and the East on questions connected with the currency. If there were no debts and no credits, it would be of little consequence what the volume of money was. But, under the economical conditions developed by modern civilization, the magnitude of the volume of money is of overshadowing importance.

In his report (1791) on the mint to be established in the United States, and the coinage to be executed by it, Alexander Hamilton began by saying—

"The general state of debtor and creditor; all the relations and consequences of price; the essential interests of trade and industry; the value of all property; the whole income both of the state and of individuals—are liable to be sensibly influenced, beneficially or otherwise, by the judicious or injudicious regulation of this interesting object."

It was because he saw that the character of the metallic money to be coined would affect "the general state of debtor and creditor," and "all the relations and consequences of price," that he condemned a single metallic standard of either gold or silver, well knowing, to quote his language in another part of the same report, that "to annul the use of either of the metals is to abridge the quantity of the circulating medium."

It is well known that the first step in the demonetization of silver in this country, which was taken in the coinage law of February 12, 1873, was understood, or even observed, by but very few persons. Even of those few, it is probable that a portion did

not comprehend, or really design, all the actual consequences of what was then begun, and was afterward finally consummated by the Revised Statutes of 1874. But no want of entire understanding of these consequences can be claimed by those who resisted the restoration of silver to its constitutional place as one of the moneys of this country. The discussion, which was without a parallel for its scorching vigor, and which resulted in that restoration, left no possibility of mistake, in any quarter, as to the precise nature of the matter which was in issue. By an unerring instinct, the bankers and moneyed classes ranged themselves on the side of contracting money, diminishing the wages of labor and prices of property, and increasing the value of credits. The contest was a sectional one, only because those classes were dominant in the Northeast, and were not dominant in the South and West. In itself, the question involved had no geographical aspects; the passion for gain knows no latitude and no longitude. The bankers of Chicago, of Charleston, and of New Orleans, were as eager for a gold standard as the bankers of the Northeastern Atlantic cities. The interests of the major number of persons in New England and New York were as completely sacrificed by the gold standard as were the interests of the agriculturists of the valley of the Mississippi. But the interests of this major number found no effective expression, because silenced and overborne by a subsidized press, a subsidized pulpit, and a subsidized corps of college presidents, college professors, and literary hacks of high and low degree, who have no capacity for any other species of thrift than that which follows fawning upon moneyed capital.

It is said that the West and South supported the restoration of silver, as a means of making the payment of debts easier. By no possibility can that be any more true than the reversed proposition, that the Northeast supported the single gold standard as a means of making the payment of debts harder. The real question is, "If both parties to the controversy be assumed to have been animated in an equal degree by selfish motives, which party pursued its interests in the line of just rights, and which party pursued its interests in the line of a flagrant wrong?" On this question, the West and South disdain any defensive attitude. They thoroughly believe, and they distinctly charge, that the scheme of

making soluble in gold all the vast debts of this country, public and private—most of which were contracted under a lawfully-established system of paper money, and none of which were incurred under a standard of gold—could have no other effect, and on the part of its leading supporters no other object, than the wholesale robbery of debtors. The West and the South resisted the scheme, for the sufficient reason that they did not mean to be compelled to pay two dollars where they had promised only one. They knew well where the ancient landmarks were, and who removed them. Silver as money was brought to this country two and a half centuries ago, in accordance with the English common law, and was established in perpetuity by the Federal Constitution. It is no clipped money which the South and the West have restored, but it is money of the precise weight of pure metal fixed in the first national coinage, and which no subsequent mint act has ever changed.

The West and the South do not fail to see that the persons and classes now urging the contraction of the paper issues of the Government are the same persons and classes who so stubbornly resisted the restoration of silver. The object to be accomplished, by diminishing the amount of legal-tender paper, is precisely the same object which was sought to be accomplished by the demonetization of silver. As wages and prices fall with a decreasing volume of money, bonds, mortgages, and credits of all kinds, rise in value. To those who have eyes, and choose to use them, the motives of the men who are demanding the withdrawal of legal-tender paper are as clearly apparent as the motives which caused the same men to push their opposition to silver to the frenzied extremity of instigating the outrage, as scandalous as it was impotent, of a presidential veto of a law passed by Congress, in the exercise of its admitted constitutional control over the coinage, after the most ample deliberation, and by majorities rarely if ever given to any controverted public measure.

The same persons who have been denouncing silver as dishonest money are now, and with really no better reason, denouncing the greenback as a dishonest money. The first and most urgent duty of the Government is said to be that of redeeming and canceling the legal-tender Treasury notes, and it is charged with dishonoring its obligations, and defrauding the holders of those

notes, every year and every day that this alleged duty of immediate redemption remains unperformed.

The first and most obvious observation to be made is, that this country has been too recently familiarized with assaults upon the credit of the American Government, and upon the good faith of the American people, from the same quarters, to be in any degree affected by railing accusations, which have no substance of fact, and no show of reason, to justify them.

The clear truth of the case is, that no promise of the Government written in the legal-tender notes has ever been violated one single day or one single hour. The Government promised to receive the notes for all dues to itself, and for all taxes, except at the custom-houses; and they always have been so received. Redemption is promised; but, as no date for redemption is fixed, law, as well as common-sense and the common understanding and expectation, invests the Government with the prerogative of determining the date of redemption, on a view of all the considerations proper to be taken into the account.

The clear truth of the case also is, that no equitable right, any more than any legal right, of the holders of these notes has ever been violated. All these holders, not excepting the President of Yale College, whose tender conscience is so much exercised about their wrongs, can obtain in the market the full value they gave for their greenbacks. The issue of these notes has involved heavy pecuniary loss, but no part of it has fallen upon their receivers or holders. It has been borne by the Government, and by the taxpayers, whose trustee and representative the Government is. To be minutely accurate, it may be admitted that the few persons holding judicial office when the legal tenders were authorized, and who had a constitutional right to the maintenance of their salaries without reduction, suffered some loss in being paid in legal tenders, instead of in coin or its equivalent. In most of these cases the loss has been compensated by an increase of salaries; but, wherever it has remained uncompensated, the wrong is not redressed by giving a coin value to the notes in the hands of present holders. The venerable and eminent senior Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, Mr. Clifford, whose appointment antedates the legal-tender act of February, 1862, did not for a certain period receive more than half his salary on a coin

valuation. He would not in any manner receive redress or compensation by a redemption now of the notes, which he parted with years ago, and for which he received only their actual market value. I have never heard that he asked for any redress. I have no doubt that he bore his loss with a cheerful patriotism, as a willing contribution toward the sacrifices in war which his country was compelled to make, and that he would now repel with disdain the offer of redress. He would certainly be surprised at the suggestion that the depreciation of the greenbacks, which he received for his salary fifteen years ago, would be in any manner made good by an appreciation of the greenbacks now in the pockets of the President of Yale College.

With the unimportant exceptions just noticed, all the payments made for services, and purchases of every kind, since February, 1862, have been made by the United States Government in greenbacks, voluntarily accepted by the receivers, and precisely at their market value and no more. During the civil war, their depreciation below a coin valuation was large, and it was this depreciation which materially swelled the cost of the war. The whole loss fell on the Government, while the holders of the greenbacks have been steady gainers by the rise in their value ever since the war closed. They have realized this gain as a matter of fact, and from the course of events. The pretension that they have had any equitable right to demand this gain is as completely untenable as is the proposition, as a matter of law, that a note redeemable at a date to be fixed by the maker, or, in other words, at the pleasure of the maker, can ever, or by any possibility, be overdue or dishonored.

The question of the losses by private creditors, in being obliged to accept greenbacks as money, is a matter altogether different from the alleged losses of the present holders of greenbacks, by reason of their not being redeemed in coin. But in respect to all such losses by private creditors as are real, they fell upon persons whom it is not now possible to compensate, and whom nobody proposes to compensate. It is no redress for those who loaned the equivalent of coin before February, 1862, and were paid in greenbacks afterward, to so legislate as to secure to the present holders of credits in this country payment in a money appreciated above the standard of money when these credits were granted.

The question of the time when the legal-tender notes shall be redeemed, and coin payments be resumed, is merely a question of public policy, to be determined solely by public considerations. It is in no way complicated with any questions of the equities or legal rights of the holders of these notes, since they gave no equities whatever, and no legal rights beyond what is plainly written down on the face of the notes, namely, that they shall be received for all dues and taxes to the United States, except custom-house duties.

Equally clear is it that the absolute right of the Government to determine when these notes shall be redeemed in coin includes and involves the absolute right to change its determination in that respect just as often as it sees good occasion to change it. Soon after the war Congress directed the Treasury to reduce the amount of these notes outstanding, at a certain monthly rate, but, upon being satisfied by a trial of it that such reduction was injurious to the country, it countermanded this direction. In matters of public concern, and where no private rights are involved, any direction given by a law to executive officers may be changed at the discretion of the legislative power. It is as idle to say that, because Congress has fixed a date in the future for redemption of the greenbacks, it cannot change the date before it arrives, upon a change in the aspect of affairs, or even upon a mere change of opinion, as it was to say that, because Congress, on the 12th of February, 1873, directed the officers of the Mint to coin no more silver dollars, it could not give direction for their coinage on the 13th of February, 1873, and on every day thereafter, until their power to coin money and regulate its value should be taken away by an amendment of the Constitution. Public legislation of that kind involves no pledges to individuals or classes, and imposes no restraints, either upon the sovereignty of the people or upon the constitutional powers of their representative agents.

The questions of the time when the Government will redeem the greenbacks in coin, and of the duration and extent of their maintenance in the monetary circulation, with or without redemption, are thus not embarrassed by any equities or rights of their holders, nor by any pledges of the Government itself. They are to be decided solely upon a view of the public interests concerned. And, in coming to a decision upon them, it will certainly be very

extraordinary if the country shall pay any attention to those persons who have already unmistakably indicated the evil *animus* which inspires them, by a pertinacious attempt to double the burden of debts by establishing a single standard of gold.

I do not propose to undertake to discuss, within the necessary limits of this communication, all the various aspects of these problems, or even any considerable number of them. But I observe:

1. That the transition from one standard of currency value to another is one of the most delicate and hazardous operations of government, and baffles more frequently than any other the wisest prescience of mankind. The most conspicuous case of that kind, and one enacted upon the most conspicuous theatre, was that of the transition of England, in 1821, from paper to gold. The controversy, in respect to its effects, has been vehement for half a century. It is still undecided, and the disputants agree in nothing except that the real effects were very little foreseen by the many supporters of the transition, and hardly more by the few who opposed it.

2. It is not a sufficient reason for the immediate or abrupt abandonment of a currency that it may have inherent defects, or has depreciated or has deranged prices. On the contrary, the greater the derangement of prices, the greater is the evil and the greater is the injustice unavoidably involved in a change to a sounder system, and the greater is the necessity of hastening slowly and cautiously in the work. The people of a country are to be neither blamed nor punished for having transacted their business, and made their purchases and engagements, on the basis of the actually existing money and prices.

3. It is said that the surplus revenues of the Government since the war, instead of having been applied to the interest-bearing debts of the country, should have been applied to the redemption and cancellation of the paper currency. The kernel of the controversy lies mostly at this point. The true view is, that the paper currency should have been, and ought now to be, maintained in full volume until the debts of the war are substantially paid off. To go back to ante-war money, ante-war wages, and ante-war prices, might be tolerable if, at the same time, we could go back to ante-war freedom from debt and ante-war lightness of national taxation. But to destroy the paper currency, and leave

the enormous debts contracted under that currency scarcely diminished, and to be paid off on the scale of wages and prices existing before the war, is an attempted robbery, as much in the broad light of day, and as completely unconcealed, as was that attempted in the demonetization of silver. It will surprise nobody that the persons and classes concerned in both attempts are the same.

R. P. Bland.

II.

One of the earliest and most important measures engaging the attention of Mr. Hamilton, first Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, was the establishment of a Mint, "to correct," to quote from his celebrated report of 1791, "the immense disorder which already reigns in so delicate and important a concern" (as the currency), "and the still greater disorder which every moment is possible." The money in circulation at the time were coins from nearly every mint in the world, the greater part, however, being those of Spain and her colonies, at that time the chief source of the supply of the precious metals. The greater part of the coins were largely reduced in value from wear, while the amount of pure metal they contained depended upon the regulation of each mint. In the establishment of a system for the new nation, the first thing to be considered was the relative value of the two metals to be used—gold and silver—so that, with the two, there should be but *one* standard; the coins of each metal of similar denominations, or their multiples, to have equal values. In determining this point it became necessary to decide upon the metal best fitted to serve as the unit to which the value of the other should be referred. Mr. Hamilton, with a sagacity which never failed him, at once adopted gold as having the most uniform value. "That species of" (silver) "coin, the old piaster" (dollar) "of Spain," to quote further from his report of 1791, "has never had any settled or standard value, according to weight or fineness, but has been permitted to circulate by tale, without regard to either, very much as a money of convenience, while gold has had a fixed price by weight, with an eye to its fineness. This greater stability of the value of the gold coins is an argument of force for regarding the money unit as having been hitherto virtually at-

tached to gold rather than to silver. Twenty-four and six-eighths grains of fine gold have corresponded with the nominal value of the dollar in the several States, without regard to the successive diminutions of its" (the dollar's) "intrinsic worth. . . . The nominal value of the dollar in each State corresponds also with 24.75 grains of fine gold, and with something between 368 and 374 grains of fine silver. . . . As long as gold, either from its intrinsic superiority as a metal, from its greater rarity, or from the prejudices of mankind, retains so considerable a preëminence in value over silver as it has hitherto had, a natural consequence of this seems to be that its condition will be more stationary. The revolutions, therefore, which may take place in the relative value of gold and silver will be changes in the state of the latter rather than of the former." Much more might be quoted to the same effect. Enough has been given to show that Hamilton grasped the whole subject. Whatever has followed in this country up to 1853 has been to confirm what he sought to establish, a relation of the two metals according to their value, referring that of silver to that of gold as the more uniform, and consequently the proper unit and standard. After full investigation and deliberation, Hamilton adopted the ratio of 1 to 15; the gold dollar, or unit, to consist of 24.75 grains, and the silver dollar 371.25 grains of pure metal. The result very speedily showed gold to be undervalued in the relation that was established. Having a legal competency less than its bullion or market value, it was exported as fast as coined, leaving the country with but one metallic money —silver. To remedy this mistake, various propositions were from time to time submitted, the object being to retain gold in the country by equalizing its value with silver. "Gold," to copy from a report made in 1819 by a committee of the House of Representatives, "can hardly be considered to form a material part of our money circulation for the past twenty-six years," that is, from the establishment of the Mint. Mr. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury in 1820, recommended that the ratio between gold and silver be established at 1 of the former to 15.75 of the latter. Nothing came, however, of his proposition, and many others of the same kind, till 1834, when the relative value of the two metals was established by law at 1 of gold to 16 of silver, the pure metal in the gold dollar being reduced from 24.75 to

23.2 grains to the dollar. A slight addition of value was made in 1837, by raising the amount of pure metal in the gold coins from 899.225 to 900-thousandths fine. The avowed object of the advocates of this change in the relative value of the two metals was to bring gold into circulation, and they determined to establish a rate which should not fail to accomplish the object. Such was the strength of the gold men that the measure passed by a vote of four to one in the Senate, and five to one in the House.

As the ratio established by Mr. Hamilton overvalued silver, in consequence of which gold was driven from the country, the act of 1834 undervalued silver to the extent of about one and a half per cent., in consequence of which its coins were driven from the country, leaving in circulation only gold and debased foreign silver coins. To correct this mistake, Mr. Corwin, in 1852, then Secretary of the Treasury, called the attention of Congress to the consequences that had resulted. "So soon," he said, "as the state of our foreign commerce, as is now the case, requires the exportation of specie, it is obvious that our silver coin must be exported while it can be procured, till the demand for exportation is supplied. . . . There seems to be but one immediate and direct remedy for this evil, and that is the one that has already been adopted in Great Britain, of changing the relative value between gold and silver coin by reducing the intrinsic value of the latter . . . . This could be advantageously done by making the" (silver) "dollar weigh 384 grains (in place of 412½), and the smaller coins in proportion. . . . If such a scale of weights were adopted, the relation of silver in such pieces to gold would be as 14.884 to 1; and, if the present true relation of bullion value is about 15.675 to 1, the new proposed silver coin would be overvalued by about five per cent. . . . If this plan is adopted by Congress, it, of course, will involve the necessity of making silver coin a legal tender only for debts of small amount, not say exceeding ten dollars, which is about the same limit (forty shillings) which has been established in England."

Pursuant to the recommendations of Mr. Corwin, Congress in 1853 passed a law reducing the weight of silver in coins of less denomination than one dollar, from the standard of 412.25 to 384 grains to the dollar, the half-dollar to weigh 192 grains, and the smaller coins in proportion; the coins of less than one dollar

not to be legal tender in payments exceeding five dollars at any one time. No change was made at the time in the amount of metal in the silver dollar, for the reason, to use the words of Mr. Hunter, of Virginia, who reported the bill establishing the subsidiary coinage, that "the great measure of adjusting the legal-tender ratio between gold and silver (as legal tender in unlimited amounts) cannot be safely attempted until some permanent relation between the market value of the two metals shall be established." At that time the silver dollar, or rather the amount of metal in it, was at a premium in gold of 4.26 per cent., the premium having risen 1.69 per cent. from the previous year. Its price fluctuated rapidly, partly in consequence of the discoveries of gold in California and Australia. It was thought best, consequently, to await the permanent effect of these discoveries, before attempting to establish a relation that might have to be altered almost as soon as made. Congress could well postpone any action in reference to the relative value of the gold and silver dollar, for the reason that the latter, at the time, formed no part of the currency of the country, it having been taken up for export, as bullion, as fast as it came from the Mint. The effect of the act of 1853, consequently, was to place the country effectually upon a mono-metallic basis—as much so as if the silver dollar itself had been reduced to the position of a subsidiary coin—the only currency from our own Mint left in circulation being gold, and the subsidiary silver coins of denominations of less than one dollar. That such was the purpose of the act was fully shown by the speeches made on the occasion of its passage. That of Mr. Dunham, member of the House from Indiana, and chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, having charge of the bill, may be taken as embodying the sentiments of a great majority of the members of both Houses. In the course of his remarks in its support, he said:

"Another objection urged against this proposed measure (i. e., the reduction of the weight of the minor coins) is, that it gives us a standard of currency of gold only. What advantage is to be obtained by a standard of two metals, which is not as well if not much better attained by a single standard, I am unable to perceive. Wherever the experiment of a standard of a single metal has been tried, it has proved eminently successful. Indeed, it is impossible

that you should, for a long time, maintain a double standard. Gentlemen talk about a double standard of gold and silver as a thing that exists, and that we propose to change. We have had but a single standard for the last three or four years. That has been and is now, *gold*. We propose to let it remain so, and to adapt silver to it, and regulate it by it." *

From 1853 the laws relating to the coinage remained unchanged till 1873. In 1870, a communication, under date of April 25th, was addressed by Mr. Boutwell, then Secretary of the Treasury, to Mr. Sherman, the chairman of the Committee on Finance of the Senate, inclosing a bill for the thorough revision of all the laws relating to the Mint. Accompanying the bill was a report, prepared by Mr. J. J. Knox, then Deputy-Controller of the Currency, presenting the reasons for the various provisions in the bill, one of which was the discontinuance of the *silver dollar* as one of the coins, for the reason that, in consequence of its excess of bullion over its nominal value, it had long ceased to be one of the coins in circulation in the country. On the 28th of April, the bill was referred to the Senate Committee on Finance, and a large number of copies ordered to be printed, with wide margins, and distributed among experts and persons whose opinions were regarded of value, in order to elicit the widest comment and criticism. Numerous replies were received, the purport of all being embraced in that of Dr. Linderman, Director of the Mint. . . . "It would be better, in my opinion," said Dr. Linderman, "to discontinue the issue of the silver dollar altogether (than to issue it at a reduced value, as a subsidiary coin). The gold dollar is really the legal unit and measure of value. Having a higher value as bullion than its nominal value, the silver dollar long ago ceased to be a coin of

* The silver dollar not only formed no part of the circulation from 1834, but it never, at any time, formed any considerable portion of it. Up to 1834 the whole number of silver dollars coined equaled only $1,439,517, the amount averaging only $45,000 yearly. From the formation of the Mint down to 1873, the total coinage of silver dollars equaled only $8,045,838, against $816,905,879 of gold, and $144,141,885 of smaller and subsidiary silver coins. From 1834 to 1873 the premium on silver dollars equaled, on an average, 2.25; the premium being the highest in 1859, when it rose to 5.22, and the lowest in 1843, when it fell to 0.34. In 1870, when the bill demonetizing silver was introduced, the premium stood at 2.67, and continued at about such rate till the bill passed.

circulation, and, being of no practical use whatever, its use should be discontinued."

On the 19th of December, 1870, the bill reported by the Senate committee was taken up for discussion, and on the 9th of January, 1871, was passed by the Senate substantially as originally reported. On the 13th of January, 1871, the bill having gone to the House, was ordered to be printed. On the 19th of February following, Mr. William D. Kelley, chairman of the Committee on Coinage of the House, reported the bill to that body, with an amendment in the nature of a substitute, which agreed with the Senate bill in discontinuing the coinage of the silver dollars. Mr. Kelley's bill was ordered to be printed and recommitted. On the 9th of March, 1871, Mr. Kelley again introduced the bill, which again was ordered to be printed, and again was referred to his committee. On the 9th of January, 1872, the bill was again reported, with a recommendation that it pass. On the 9th of April, 1872, it was taken up and discussed at great length. It was again taken up for discussion on the 27th of May, 1872, when an amendment was offered by Mr. Hooper, a member of the coinage committee, from Massachusetts, and adopted, that the silver dollar be retained as a subsidiary currency, its value being reduced to 384 grains, the ratio of metal in the subsidiary coins, for the reasons, as stated by him in the debate, that "the silver dollar of 412½ grains, by reason of its bullion or intrinsic value being greater than its nominal value, long since ceased to be a coin of circulation, and is melted by manufacturers of silverware." Mr. Kelley, in the same debate, said: "It is impossible to retain the double standard. The value of gold and silver continually fluctuates. You cannot determine this year what will be the relative values of gold and silver next year. They were 15 to 1 a short time ago; they are 16 to 1 now. . . . I again call the attention of the House to the fact that gentlemen who oppose this bill insist upon maintaining the silver dollar, worth three and a half cents more than the gold dollar, and worth seven cents more than two half-dollars. So long as these provisions remain, you cannot keep silver in the country."

The bill, as amended, passed the House on the 27th of May, 1872. It was returned to the Senate with the amendments, again printed, referred to the Committee on Finance, and re-

ported back on the 16th of December, 1872. After debate it was again referred to the committee, and printed with the amendments. On the 7th of January, 1873, it was taken up for debate in the Senate, and finally passed by that body on the 17th of January, 1873, the House amendment to the bill, retaining the silver dollar as a subsidiary coin, having been stricken out. As the House adhered to its amendment, the bill went to a committee of conference, by which the House amendment was stricken out, the bill making no provision for the coinage of the silver dollar in any form. The report of the conference committee was accepted by both Houses, and on the 12th of February the famous bill of 1873, by the signature of the President, became a law.

It will thus be seen that nearly three years elapsed from the introduction of the proposition demonetizing the silver dollar till its final passage. During this whole period every possible means were resorted to to give it publicity, and to invite whatever opinion or criticism could aid in coming to a wise and temperate conclusion. It was during this whole time constantly and emphatically urged by the Secretary of the Treasury. The bill was repeatedly considered, at length, by the Finance Committee of the Senate and the coinage committee of the House, during five different sessions of Congress. It was repeatedly read in full in both Houses. It was printed in full, with the amendments, by order of Congress, eleven different times, and twice, in addition, in the reports made by the Deputy-Controller of the Currency. The debates upon the bill in the Senate occupy sixty-six columns of the *Congressional Globe*, and those in the House seventy-eight columns. During this period, every shade of opinion, both in and out of Congress, was invoked and challenged. Never was a measure more fully, intelligently, conscientiously, and exhaustively considered.

I have given a brief sketch of the coinage laws from the formation of the Government, in order to show that, as far as the two metals are concerned, all measures had one object—an equality of value between the two; that the act of 1853, which provided the conditions by which alone the coins of silver to be issued in the future were to be retained in the country, not the act of 1873, was the one that placed the nation on a mono-metallic

basis of gold; that the act of 1873 produced no change in the monetary condition of the country, and no change whatever, except to remove an obsolete provision from the statute-book. That this act was not devised by the rich as a cunning and cruel method of oppressing the poor, by increasing the amounts to be paid by them, is sufficiently shown by the fact that it substituted the lower standard in place of the higher. The measure, consequently, if it had any design of the kind, was conceived wholly in the interest of the poor against the rich. It had no other design than to adapt the currency to the convenience and wants of the country; the dropping out of the silver dollar being one of the least important of the measures to be accomplished.

In view of the preceding, I do not propose to controvert Mr. Bland's assertion that the act of 1873 was a scheme of robbery, whereby the East sought to make the South and West pay two dollars for one, nor that the rights of the masses of the North were "silenced and overborne by a subsidized press, a subsidized pulpit, a subsidized corps of college presidents, college professors, and literary hacks of high and low degree, who have no capacity for other species of thrift than that which follows fawning upon moneyed capital." I do not propose to enter into any controversy with him, as I have fully disqualified him from being an antagonist in any controversy whatever. A few weeks ago a witness in the city of New York, testifying in his own behalf, was, upon leaving the witness-stand, ordered into custody by the judge for falsehoods palpable from his own statement, uncontradicted by a single witness. The public, the tribunal with which Mr. Bland now rests his case, may not be able to restrain his liberty, but it will pronounce instant sentence against him as a willful falsifier of history, as a libeler of his kind, and as a conspirator against the order and welfare of society.

HENRY V. POOR.

VIII.

THE NATIVE ARMY OF INDIA.

A TELEGRAM, received some few weeks ago, informed us that 7,000 native troops had been ordered to embark at Bombay for employment in Europe. It startled those who were likely to become our active enemies, who had been under the impression that we should have had to increase our garrisons in India in the event of war, and it roused up Englishmen to a consciousness of military resources, long possessed, but never previously realized by the nation. Lord Beaconsfield was the first of our public men who reminded his countrymen that England was the greatest of all Asiatic powers, and, by this move of Indian troops to the Mediterranean, he has made them feel their great military strength. It has come upon them as a sort of revelation. It had been previously the fashion to regard our Indian Empire merely as a valuable possession that was more or less a source of weakness to us; as a distant province, to retain which we might at any moment have to exert all our strength; and that, whether threatened by internal rebellion or external aggression, might every now and then necessitate the dispatch of a large force from these shores to preserve or protect. No one seems to have thought of it as an integral portion of her Majesty's dominions capable and willing to assume its share of our burdens in time of war, or to contribute toward the defense of our world-extending interests in the event of those interests being attacked. Our ablest officers had studied and worked out the best policy to pursue should Russian aggression in Central Asia endanger the peace or security of our Afghan frontier. Plans without end—as numerous, doubtless, as those devised in Russia for the invasion of India—had been discussed by us for countering any such undertaking, all more or less requiring the coöperation of troops to be sent from

England; but that a blow struck by Russia at our great European interests should be met by an army dispatched from India, had never been dreamed of. It remained for Lord Beaconsfield to point out to us the mine of military strength we had long possessed in the Indian army, but which we had never before thought of using for imperial purposes; and, among the many great acts for which he will be remembered in history, by no means the least will be that he was the first Englishman wise enough to appreciate the real value of that splendid army, and to utilize it in a great European crisis.

To the dreamer of Utopian dreams in this country, it is a horrible idea that England should ever be a strong military power. What would become of them, and of their theories of universal peace, should England ever embark in a great war! They had fondly believed that as long as the British army was kept down to the extremely modest proportions annually fixed by the Mutiny Act, all dread of such an immoral possibility was averted; but when the telegram to which I have referred reminded them of another army possessed by this country, also available in case of war, the shock to their nerves was really serious. Parliament was not sitting when this hated news was received, so they could not even hope to embarrass the Government by an angry discussion upon it. While the country was at first somewhat dazed by this unexpected intelligence, to question the constitutional bearing of the proceeding might be telling; but by the time the Houses would reassemble—most aggravating of all provoking thoughts—it was certain to all, who knew John Bull's character, that he would have realized the value of his newly-discovered strength, and would feel grateful to those who had brought it to light and shown him how it could be utilized.

The members of the small but noisy party who denounce all who desire to check Russian aggression are apparently influenced by various and conflicting motives. Some are ardent admirers of Russia because, after the Carlyle school of thought, they are worshipers of strong, autocratic governments, and cannot brook the idea of hampering her action in any way whatever; others decry any attempt to do so from a sincere admiration of the czar, who is said to have made freemen of the serfs, and to have preached a crusade against all Mohammedan rule in provinces where there are

any Christian inhabitants. There are those who deprecate engaging in war under any circumstances; and others who from purely party motives oppose the warlike preparations made by a conservative Government presided over by a minister whom they hate, not simply because he is their political opponent, but because he is a successful rival, directing with general and enthusiastic approval the affairs of a nation which has become alienated from their views, and—most unpardonable of faults—from themselves personally. The awakening caused by this telegram from India to the fact that our military strength is not henceforth to be gauged exclusively by the number of soldiers raised at home and annually voted by Parliament, has deeply angered those to whom I refer. To the credit of Englishmen be it said, however, that many of the opposition have risen superior to party politics, and cordially approve of this important measure; they feel it to be a great step made toward the firm union of India to England; they rejoice over the feelings of loyalty it has evoked from all classes in Hindostan; and their satisfaction at finding that, as if by enchantment, a great army has been added to the military strength of the nation, is heart-felt and unbounded. Those who cry for peace, peace at any price, have been most fertile in propounding reasons why England should not, under any circumstances, fight. Some of those reasons have been foolish; but one—frequently expressed—has been positively traitorous toward the people, for surely it is infamous to tell a nation with a history such as our history is, that it would be criminal to expose ourselves to the certain defeat we should experience if we dared to enter the lists against so powerful a nation as Russia. As proofs of this theory we have been reminded, over and over again, that while the British army is barely 200,000 men, distributed in detachments over the world, the Russian army is said to be three-quarters of a million. If any one attempts to point out that as we could afford, owing to our insular position and great wealth, to wait until we had raised and organized a vast army, he is met with the rejoinder, "How can you, from a population of about 32,000,000 people, hope to obtain as many troops as Russia with her 83,000,000 inhabitants?" The dispatch of this handful of sepoys from Bombay to Malta has destroyed this argument, for it reminds us that, without counting our colonies, we have one possession alone with a popu-

lation of over 240,000,000 souls, or about three times that of all Russia.

Those who know India and its people are well aware of their fighting character, and that its army consists to a considerable extent of men drawn from the most intensely warlike races in the world—of men to whom warfare is the breath of life, who despise all mercantile or other peaceful occupations as employment unfit for men.

As a last resort, the Russian party here have taken to preaching homilies upon the Constitution of England, and to pointing out how seriously its provisions have been infringed by the employment of Indian troops in Europe. Others, and among them are many who know little or nothing of India, shake their heads, and tell you the measure is fraught with danger to our position there: we are warned of what may follow when, at the end of a successful war, we shall have to disband a large number of the sepoys who have helped us to victory, forgetful of the fact that it is a danger we successfully encountered when the great Sikh army was disbanded, after the Punjaub War, and again at the end of the mutiny, when we very largely reduced the army we had expressly raised to put it down.

There is no reasoning, however, with men to whom party considerations are of the first moment, and who feel bound to discover bogies in every measure adopted by the party in power. In order to denounce and oust from power the engineers who have constructed the road, they pretend to find fault with the road itself.

The fact, however, remains that, while living under the belief that our army was very small, this telegram from India suddenly, and without any previous preparation for the startling announcement, conveyed to us the glad tidings that our army had been doubled in strength, and it caused us to realize for the first time that we possess an almost unlimited recruiting-ground, where soldiers are to be obtained in, I may say, unlimited numbers, from a vast population by whom the occupation of a soldier is regarded as the highest of all earthly pursuits.

Although we have now been a power in Hindostan for over one hundred and twenty years, and although it is barely possible to think of any family in Great Britain entirely unconnected with

our rule there, it is yet strange how little is known of that great empire by the vast majority of people living out of India. Its size, the magnitude of its rivers and of its mountain-chains, and the greatness of its population, are seldom realized by those who have never been in the country. The conservative instincts of the Hindoo have survived many a conquest. Conquerors with their armies, who have established themselves in India, have by degrees lost their individuality, and their natural or national characteristics have gradually disappeared, until they have become as thoroughly Indian as the Brahman of purest descent. Even the successive waves of Mohammedan invasion have in the course of time died out, having burst and spent their strength against the temporarily yielding but indestructible sands of Hindoo prejudices and superstition, leaving little mark behind them. The religion of the Prophet remains, but in an adulterated form—so much so, that I have heard Indian Mohammedans talk of their "caste" when reference was made to some of the many trifling acts which the followers of Brahma would far sooner die than willingly perform. Contact with a vast people whose religion and customs are still the same as they were when Alexander reached the Indus, has apparently resulted, not only in rounding off some of the most salient dogmas inculcated by the Prophet, but has seemingly in some degree impregnated his followers with a superstitious respect for, if not an actual belief in, the religious observances prescribed in the Sanskrit Vedas.

Unlike previous conquerors, we have never settled in the country; we have never been more than a foreign garrison, kept constantly renewed by detachments from England; but, although we have consequently escaped any assimilation, either in religion or customs, with its people, we have practically failed, as yet, to work any great palpable change in those over whom we have now ruled so long. Before the construction of railways it used to be said that, were we driven from the country, no trace, no monument, of our rule would exist ten years afterward, beyond the empty beer-bottles we had left behind us.

This move of troops from India to Malta, with a view to the possibility of a war being forced upon us, has turned public attention somewhat to Indian subjects; and those whose only knowledge of the Indian army consists in the fact that the Bengal army,

or, as it is currently but very erroneously believed, the whole Indian army, had mutinied in 1857, are now anxious for information regarding it. I shall endeavor, therefore, to supply your readers with some few facts on the subject.

Each of the three great governments in India—Bengal, Bombay, and Madras—has a distinct army, which, with a very trifling exception to the rule, serves only within its own territorial boundaries. In the event of any great emergency, such as that which resulted in the destruction of the Sikh kingdom, or the Bengal mutiny of 1857, troops are sent from the other presidencies to that which becomes the theatre of war; but, when the contingency that called for their services is over, they return to their own presidency. Each army has its own special regulations and customs, and there is considerable rivalry, I might almost say jealousy, between them—feelings especially prominent among their respective officers. In the last century the Madras army took part in several brilliant campaigns, such as that in which the Duke of Wellington won for himself the title of "sepoy general," contemptuously applied to him by the first Napoleon when he wished to depreciate the achievements of one destined afterward to become his victor. Since then the Madras army has played no great part in our Indian history, although it furnished a large proportion of the expeditionary forces sent to China and to Burmah in 1840 and 1852. Upon neither of those occasions, however, did it take any prominent place in the events of those wars. It sent a small contingent to Bengal during the mutiny, but, beyond proving the great fact that the spirit of disaffection, which had swept through the ranks of our Bengal regiments, had not influenced its loyalty, and beyond enabling us, in using it as garrisons along our line of communications, to dispose of more Bengal regiments than we could otherwise have done, its services were not actively called for.

The history of the native army of India teems with interest, for it tells the tale of the English conquest of the country. It is full of romantic incidents, and of deeds of chivalrous daring. Many of its most brilliant pages have been penned by our ablest and most graphic writers. It is inseparable from some of the great names first learned by the schoolboy, and most highly esteemed by the British statesman, and events are associated

with it that will be looked back to with pride and with shame, with joy and with horror, as long as Englishmen remain to take an interest in the annals of their race. Who is there that has not in early youth thrilled over Macaulay's essays on Clive and Warren Hastings? Who has not shuddered at the story of how our imprisoned countrymen tore one another to pieces in their death-struggles to get near those narrow loop-holes through which alone air or light could enter the "Black Hole of Calcutta," on that never-to-be-forgotten day of stifling heat? Who has not heard of Meer Jaffier, of the cruelties of Surajah Dowlah? What name is better known than that of Tippoo Sahib? Where is the military student who has not read Kay's story of the Afghan war, and been puzzled to know whether his wrath should be poured out most upon the ignorant rulers who intrusted the command of the most important expedition ever sent by us beyond the frontiers of India to a feeble old man, physically unfit from age for such a position, or upon the writer who described its misfortunes in such gloomy and yet magniloquent terms that, what was in reality nothing more than the destruction of a brigade, has assumed in our history the magnitude and importance of a national disaster as overwhelming to us as the Moscow campaign was to the first French Empire? The story of how one native army mutinied, because it had been proposed to alter the shape of the sepoy shakos, has caused many a smile; while the narration of what was done at Cawnpore in 1857, by another equally unfaithful to "its salt," still sends the blood racing through one's veins, and still rouses feelings and memories that in calmer moments we are anxious to stifle and forget. Not in the stories of the "Arabian Nights," nor in any work of romance that I know of, can accounts of fictitious events be found more exciting in their nature, progress, and results, than the narratives of many and many actual incidents in the pages of our Indian military history. Those who, in the pages of Walter Scott, seek to satisfy their taste for the wonderful and for warlike adventure, those whom Prescott's thrilling stories of Spanish enterprise and Spanish cruelty have ceased to excite, cannot do better than dive into the narratives of our military doings in India. The history of our native armies is still to be written, and, should it be penned by an author worthy of the subject, it cannot fail to equal in in-

terest the most stirring tales of adventures that the most imaginative novelist has ever put on paper.

It was in 1662 that the first detachment of regular British troops landed in India, from which date, until the battle of Plassey placed Bengal at Clive's mercy—nearly a hundred years afterward—our position in India underwent many curious and rapid changes of fortune. We had to fight for our existence there not only with native rajahs and powerful nawobs, but with the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the French. It was apparently the able French adventurer Dupleix who first discovered how powerful would be a native army, organized on European principles and officered by white men, and it was that really great though unfortunate pioneer of French influence in Hindostan who taught us how to conquer Indian provinces with Indian sepoys. We soon found how easily military instruction could be imparted to the warlike classes, then so numerous in every important division of the country; and, as our officers came to know their men, to appreciate their warlike virtues, and when the latter had learned and seen tested, in many a battle fought against overwhelming numbers, the superior claims to leadership possessed by their European masters, there grew up between the sepoy and the English officer those feelings of comradeship and mutual confidence which constitute the bonds of union upon which rests the whole fabric of our native army administration. That the private soldier should personally know and esteem his captain, is far more necessary in a sepoy than in a British regiment; personal influence, on the part of a leader, whether he be captain or colonel, has more weight among Indian than among European soldiers. I have seen this exemplified upon many occasions, when native troops, who would do nothing in action under men they knew little or nothing of, would behave with the utmost gallantry under leaders whose valor had thrown a spell around them, and whose title to command them had been proved in many an encounter.

The sepoy possesses many of the highest military virtues; indeed, they are, as it were, instincts ingrained in the races from which he is drawn—races who regard a soldier's occupation as the noblest of earthly pursuits. The honor of a soldier is common to all ranks, and is not confined to the hierarchy of the officer-class, as we too frequently find is the case in Western

armies. They have their own peculiar views on the subject, but I have no hesitation in saying that the crown jewels would be safer in some respects under the charge of a sepoy guard or a sepoy sentry than if committed to the care of European soldiers. I am sorry to say that I have known instances of thefts from a treasury committed by British soldiers who had been placed as a guard over it, while I have never known of one where such a heinous crime could be laid to the charge of our native troops. The currency of India being exclusively in silver rupees, convoys of treasure in transit from one station to another are very common; this was especially the case before the construction of railways, and the duty was carried out exclusively by native troops. When the great mutiny burst suddenly upon us in 1857, many of these treasure-escorts were, as usual, on the march, the men of which, in numerous cases, belonged to regiments that had mutinied, and in a few instances had killed their officers after the convoys had started; yet such were their peculiar notions on the subject of faithfully protecting what had been openly and unhesitatingly committed to their safe keeping, that I never knew of an instance where that trust was abused, although in more than one case, as soon as they had handed over the treasure at the station it was intended for, the sepoys composing the guard joined their mutinous comrades forthwith.

Since 1857 the three Indian armies have been completely reorganized. Previous to that time all regiments, whether of cavalry or infantry, had an establishment of twenty-four English officers, being very nearly as large as that laid down for British corps, and in about the same proportions as regards ranks. Besides these, there was a full complement of company native officers, who, from being promoted from the ranks, I may say exclusively on the seniority system, were so old as to be utterly useless. In regiments where the majority of the men were Brahmans, or of other high castes, as was generally the case in the regular Bengal army, it was not very uncommon to find an officer who was a man of low caste, and the result was most unfortunate: although obliged to pay his officer respect when on parade, as soon as he was off duty the Brahman private not only ceased to do so, but—as was the immemorial custom in civil life—exacted from his low-caste officer that reverence which his superior birth entitled him

to. Under the old organization it is therefore scarcely necessary for me to add that the native officer was simply a fifth wheel to the regimental coach. His position was valued for the pay attached to it, and for the pension it carried with it when the man was discharged from actual decrepitude—and few were then discharged until they were more or less decrepit. On parade he repeated, in a parrot-like fashion, some minor words of command, but practically he exercised neither influence nor authority over the sepoys of his company. Although the position afforded no outlet for ambition, it held out to the well-behaved sepoy the prospects of an honorable provision for old age—an advantage nowhere more highly appreciated than in India. The system was one that, when viewed from a purely British point of view, had at least the great merit of stifling all ambitious craving after power or high military command, which was reserved exclusively for those of the ruling race. In it there was much safety, for, while we drilled all in our pay to be good soldiers, we studiously avoided running the risk of educating any to be officers in anything more than in name, so that none should be found capable to lead should the British element at any time or from any cause whatever be withdrawn from the regimental establishments. We reaped the full benefit of that system when the Bengal army mutinied; for, curious to relate, although nearly two and a half years elapsed before it was completely stamped out, no native leader of any military merit came to the front: the sepoys had lost the leaders—the English officers—under whom they had been accustomed to fight, and in whom they had had the utmost confidence, and they could find no native officers whom they trusted capable of supplying their places.

The reorganization of the Indian army has been carried out upon principles diametrically opposite to those upon which the old army was constituted; and time, bringing with it the heavy strain of war, and perhaps the still more crucial test of mutiny, can alone prove whether, for all the purposes for which a native army is maintained, one organized upon our existing system is a better and a safer or even as good an implement in our hands as that we possessed before the recent changes were effected. Those changes have been made deliberately, and upon the advice of a few very able men, but there is no concealing the fact that they

have been carried out in opposition to the views and opinions of the great bulk of the most experienced of our Indian officers.

Before the reorganization, promotion among the English officers of the native corps was carried out regimentally, and, as a rule, the battalion that the boy-cadet joined at about sixteen years of age he remained in until he either became a general or retired upon a pension. The regiment was his home; if he joined the staff, or received an appointment in the civil administration of the country, in the event of his corps taking the field, he had to rejoin it. He was personally known to all the native officers, to most of the non-commissioned officers, and, if not to all the privates, his name, his character, and his disposition, were fully known to them from the reports of others. He went back to his home, which was practically as he had left it, although some few of the old servants whom he had previously known had been replaced by others. Now, on the other hand, the officers of each army are borne upon one list, so that possibly a man may change his regiment many times during the course of his service. To reduce this changing as much as possible, a most expensive and a very anomalous system has been adopted, namely, that instead of having an established number of officers of each rank, as is the case in every other army I am acquainted with, and giving promotion only when vacancies are occasioned by death or retirement, all officers of the local Indian army are now promoted to the rank of captain after twelve years, to that of major after twenty, and to that of lieutenant-colonel after twenty-six years' service. The result is, that in some regiments you have not a single subaltern officer, and in others the majority have the rank and draw the pay of field-officers, although doing only the duty of captains or subalterns.

To all native cavalry and infantry regiments (the latter never consist of more than one battalion) serving in India, there are now only seven combatant and one medical British officer, their designations being, one commandant, one second in command, one wing or squadron officer, one adjutant, one quartermaster, and two subalterns. None of these are attached to companies, but all are supposed to lead the regiment by wings in action, the direction and command of the troops or companies devolving upon their respective native captains.

The two great objections urged against this system are—1. That natives never can lead companies as well as Englishmen; that what always made our sepoy battalions superior to those against whom we contended in the East was the great advantage they derived from having every company led by one or two English officers; that native troops require as large a proportion of English officers as British regiments, and should therefore have at least one per troop or company. 2. That the experiment we have embarked in, of teaching men to be efficient captains, is one fraught with extreme danger to the ship of state; that, should another mutiny overtake us, we shall find our sepoys arrayed against us under their native captains, whom we have taught and educated to be their natural leaders. Among the vast number of young, active native officers so instructed, it is folly to hope that none will come to the front as generals; and, finally, that, by the very fact of bringing forward and educating these young men to be officers, you introduce into your military system an element of danger that is, in the nature of things, most likely to conduce to mutiny. The presence in each infantry regiment of sixteen and in each cavalry regiment of thirteen native officers, a proportion of them being designedly of the highest social classes we can induce to join, and all being whetted as it were by the most dangerous of all sorts of military ambition, that prescribed within very narrow limits, is described by many of our best Indian officers as pregnant with future peril.

The arguments in favor of this system are many and forcible. We are told that in raising a mercenary army from an alien race we must incur risks, and that our present organization presents at least no more than that which utterly collapsed in Bengal in 1857; that, in former times, our English officers were always on the lookout for some staff or civil employment away from their regiments, which would give them higher emoluments, and that in order to counteract that practice, which resulted in generally leaving with their corps only the most stupid and worthless officers, the good ones having found some outside occupation, it was necessary to largely increase the rates of regimental pay; that in order to do so it was absolutely necessary to reduce considerably the complement of British officers in all branches of the service, as the revenues of the state could not support the charge of pay-

ing at the increased rates the old establishment of numbers; that the ordinary routine of duties with a native regiment were trifling in comparison with those in a British battalion, and that, consequently, when there was the old large proportion of officers to native corps, they had so little occupation and responsibility that it was difficult to maintain among them that high standard of efficiency so essential to men who have to lead natives in the field; and that, lastly, it was deemed expedient to make room for the active employment of native officers, thus holding out an honorable career and an assured and recognized position of trust and responsibility to men of what we may term the gentleman-class. We are told that, prior to 1796, our native army, which had then already distinguished itself at the battles of Plassey and Buxar, in the campaigns in Guzerat, the Carnatic, Mysore, and against the Dutch at Chinsurah, had never had more than five British officers to each regiment of about 550 or 600 sepoys. Further, that during the great wars which resulted in our annexation of the Punjaub, our battalions on the average had not more than about seventeen English officers each. Be the change for future good or future evil, the new organization has now been many years in existence, and it must be admitted, by even its greatest opponents, that our native armies have at no previous period of our Indian history been so efficient as they are at present.

With a view to reducing the chances of combination and conspiracy among the sepoys as far as practicable, care is taken to enlist men of many various creeds and races, and to mix them in regiments and companies as much as possible. There are a few special corps where this has not been done, such, for instance, as in the regiments of Goorkhas, one of whom has just been landed at Malta. Sometimes this plan is carried out by having men from several tribes or districts collected into one company, while in some regiments the different races or castes are separately collected together in troops or companies: thus, you may have in the one battalion a company of Sikhs, one of Punjabee Mohammedans, one of Jats, one of Afridees, one of low-caste Hindoos, and so on. Except, therefore, in a few instances, there is nothing like homogeneity in the composition of regiments. Thus, taking the Bengal army, which is the largest, and consists of men drawn to a great extent from the most warlike material in our Indian Em-

pire, there were the other day between 6,000 and 7,000 Hindustanee Mohammedans, between 8,000 and 9,000 Rajpoots, about 2,000 Jats, about 6,000 low-caste Hindustanees, 6,000 Punjabee Mohammedans, about 1,000 Hindoos, 12,000 Sikhs, 1,200 Mwybee Sikhs, 5,000 Afghans and Pathans, between 5,000 and 6,000 Goorkhas, and some 4,000 of Dogras, and other hill-classes, etc.

The regiments of the native army are frequently moved from one station to another, and it is considered good policy never to allow any large concentration of native troops at any one station, except upon occasions of great manœuvres, when there is also present a large British force.

In the cavalry of the Madras army the horses are provided by Government, but, in that of Bengal and Bombay, the trooper, or sowar, as he is designated in India, finds himself in everything except his arms; he joins, bringing his horse with him, and, as long as he remains in the service, is obliged to subscribe from his pay to a regimental fund, from which he is supplied with a horse, should his own die or become unfit for work. His pay is twenty-seven rupees a month, which is only worth about £2 9*s.* in sterling money since the depreciation in the value of silver. On this he lives, finding his horse and its forage, his own clothes, and his food. The pay of the infantry sepoy is seven rupees (about 12*s.* 9*d.*) a month, on which he feeds himself, his arms and regimental clothing being found by the state. These rates of pay will convey a good idea of what a man and his family can live well upon in India, for it must be remembered that the soldier there occupies a good social position, and that the inferior servants are not nearly so well paid. The Indian is the most thrifty of mortals, and most abstemious in his habits. It was a well-known fact in the old army that, in order to put by money, many sepoys did not eat a sufficient quantity of wholesome food. In the Madras army the custom is for a sepoy regiment to move from place to place, accompanied by all the families, sometimes consisting of two or three generations of men, women, and children, except when embarking for service out of India, or when engaged anywhere upon active service. This entails very great cost upon all concerned, and, in consequence, the Madras troops move less frequently than those of the other two presidencies, where these family arrangements are unknown. The Madras officers are very

much prejudiced in favor of this system, to which they in a great measure attribute the fact that the mutiny which swept over Bengal in 1857 did not even spread to those Madras regiments which were, comparatively speaking, near the Bengal troops who had turned against their officers. It is said that a native corps, when encumbered with this family impedimenta, is powerless for harm; that, having no homes beyond their regimental lines, if a regiment mutinied, the sepoys could not take their families with them, and would not dare to leave them behind in our power. In fact, it is believed by many that these families may be regarded as hostages for the good behavior of the men.

The new organization, which was carried out with ease in Bengal, where the old regular army may be said to have disappeared in the great mutiny, was introduced into the armies of Madras and Bombay in the teeth of considerable opposition from all concerned. Their officers said: "It is all very well to change the entire system of organization in Bengal, where the old system has completely broken down; but our armies are immaculate, our men have not mutinied, and it is hard to punish us for the sins of an army which we have long known to be rotten to its core."

The Madras army has about 2,000 native Christians in its ranks, and a considerable proportion of its men understand a little English—a knowledge which the other two armies do not possess. It is, of the three armies, the only one raised exclusively in India, about one-half being Mohammedans, and one-half Hindoos from the Telinga, Tamil, Brahmans, Rajpoots, Mahratta, and other classes. The Bombay army is not so uniform in its composition as that of Madras. It has about 600 Christians and Jews, about 5,000 Mohammedans, 3,000 Brahmans and Rajpoots, 8,000 Mahrattas, 3,000 Purwarees, about 2,000 men from the Punjaub, about the same number of men from beyond the river Indus, consisting of Beloochees and Afghans, and some 4,000 of other castes and races.

By far the finest fighting material is drawn from the northern frontier provinces, in which the men have a finer *physique*, and are of a more martial temperament, than in the south. It has been said that one might quite as well compare a Greek with an Englishman as a Madrassee with a Pathan. Long-continued

peace, extending through the lives of several generations, seems to change the character of an Asiatic people; and as the lower races of animals are said to alter their fur according to the temperature of the country in which they are bred, and, as generations sweep on, to have even their physical appearance adapted to the altered conditions under which they are forced to exist, so it would seem that about seventy years of peace have to a great extent robbed the Madras army of that warlike spirit which it displayed on many a well-fought field in the earlier period of our rule in the Deccan. Since the battle of Mahidpore, in 1817, I do not think that army has had its fighting qualities severely tested, and, from seeing nothing of war, the people of the south have settled down into a peaceable, law-abiding series of communities, whose docility has passed into a proverb. In the Bombay army, commanding officers endeavor to fill their ranks with Rajpoots from Oude, with Sikhs, and with Afghans, preferring men from any of our Indus-frontier districts to those they can obtain within the Bombay Presidency itself. The Mahrattas, as horsemen, were at one period the terror of all India, and they still make very fine soldiers: they are brave, hardy, and willing, having fewer caste prejudices than the Hindoo of the Bengal army. By their shrewdness and activity, they assisted materially in all the British conquests from 1795 to 1820 in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies. Beloochistan, bordering as it does upon our trans-Indus territory, supplies us with some very excellent soldiers: they are Mohammedans, but not imbued with the religious rancor and fanaticism so strong among the Pathan tribes. As a race, however, they are great robbers, and frequently descend from their hills in parties of from fifty to one hundred and even five hundred strong to plunder the villages in the plains, sparing those only which are inhabited by their own tribe. Although celebrated as horsemen, they prefer dismounting to fight, attacking fiercely with sword, shield, and dagger, being well skilled in the use of their weapons. They are great fatalists, a trait which does not certainly detract from their value as soldiers. They are athletic, but despise labor; they are chivalrous, but hanker after the possession of their neighbors' goods. They are great admirers of personal prowess, and, when a comrade falls in battle, their custom is to strip him, tying a red or green string

round the right or left wrist, according to what they consider to have been the courage he displayed in dying, the red string being the highest honor. During one of our hill-campaigns against them, a sergeant with a handful of British soldiers, mistaking a signal made to him by his captain, attacked a large body of Beloochees in a very inaccessible position : the attack was hopeless, but was made in what was believed to be obedience to orders, and made by all the party with reckless daring. All were killed, and, when the bodies were subsequently recovered by their comrades, round not one, but both the wrists of each Englishman, there was found to be a red string tied, as a mark of Beloochee admiration and esteem for the great courage of an enemy who had not hesitated to attack against such overwhelming odds.

Of all three native armies, that of Bengal is, without doubt, the best in every respect; composed of the finest materials, it is by far the most effective as a military instrument for war purposes. It is larger than the armies of Bombay and Madras put together, and, as a year seldom passes by without some portion of it being engaged on active service, a spirit of warlike adventure is kept alive in it which is as necessary to the health—I might say to the very life of all armies—as oxygen is to human existence. For the protection of a portion of the trans-Indus frontier, there is a special little army, called the "Punjaub Frontier Force," which, by an anomalous arrangement, is not under the commander-in-chief, but under the orders of the civil officer administering the Punjaub. It consists of six regiments of cavalry, twelve regiments of infantry, and four batteries of native artillery (three of them provided with mountain-equipment). It is composed of many races, but the bulk of the men are either Sikhs, Punjabee, Mohammedans, Pathans, or Goorkhas, a large proportion coming from small independent communities beyond our borders.

To understand our native army well, one must know something of the characteristics of the races from which it is drawn. I shall, therefore, shortly refer to one or two of the most famous tribes among them.

The Sikhs, whose power we finally overturned in 1849, were originally a religious sect founded by a renegade Mohammedan priest in the fifteenth century. The religion may be generally

described as bearing the same relation to the Hindoo creed that Protestantism does to the Roman Catholic faith; it is a species of reformed Hindooism, although strongly impregnated with a coloring drawn from the Koran. Indeed, Nanak, the founder of it, appears to have endeavored to reconcile the opposing faiths of Moslem and Hindoo in his teaching, and above all things to have preached the unity of the Deity and peace on earth. The persecution to which the Sikhs were subjected by the members of the two great dominant religions drove them, however, to arms, and, when we had our first dealings with them, we found them united into a powerful independent state by the talents and warlike genius of Runjeet Sing, who ruled at Lahore as lord and master of the Punjaub. They are a fine, brave people, and, when we took possession of the country, they were thoroughly inured to war. There every man was armed, and the peasant ploughing in the field carried his sword and shield as he prepared his land for the crop which he never knew who might reap; this he knew, however, that, unless he was prepared manfully to defend it, he had better spare himself the labor of sowing. Our policy since then has been in disarming the people, to whom we afforded protection by an armed police, to wean them from their warlike proclivities, and teach them to become law-abiding citizens. The officers who fought against them at Sobraon, at Ferozshah, etc., bear testimony to their valor, and their discipline as soldiers under us is well known to all who have ever served with them. They are a handsome, smoke-colored (not black) people. By an ordinance of their religion, no man ever cuts his hair, which grows to a considerable length. The soldier coils it up under his turban, but is very fond of combing it out during all moments of leisure. In the same way he twists up his long beard into a knot under his chin, or ties it up behind his ears over his head. They are very vain of their personal appearance, fond of fine, gorgeous clothing, and take an especial delight in contemplating their fine, regular features in the small looking-glass which each soldier generally carries about him. The Sikh is one of the very very few people who does not smoke, that practice being also forbidden by his creed, but he eats either bang or opium instead; he takes these narcotics in very small quantities, carrying them in the form of

pills in a little box. We enlist them into both our cavalry and infantry; they are not particularly good horsemen, but as foot-soldiers they have always had a great reputation in India.

The Afridees, and other Pathan tribes inhabiting the mountains which form our northwestern Indian frontiers, are noble, Mohammedan savages, utterly faithless to all public engagements, but still imbued with a sort of chivalrous hospitality that one cannot help admiring. The Afghans generally are devoted to their country and to their clan, and have what we would call great pride of birth, counting back their descent through a long string of ancestry. They are revengeful and rapacious, brave, hardy, cunning, and prudent. Their system of government is democratic, while their southern neighbors, the Beloochees, lean toward monarchical institutions. Every tribe is divided into numerous clans, each independent, and yielding but faint obedience to its own immediate petty head-man. They are constantly at war, not only one tribe with another, one small village against another, but even one family against its neighbors. Each and all keep a sort of debtor and credit account with their neighbors, life for life. Cold-blooded assassination is not only permitted, but enjoined as an article of faith, and the man who meets another with whom or with whose family his own relations have a blood-feud, is bound, according to the Afghan code of morality, as well as of honor, to slay him forthwith. There is no challenge to mortal combat given, no encounter upon equal conditions of arms, etc., required: if, when concealed, watching for your enemy behind a rock you can shoot him, so much the better. It is by no means uncommon for one of our soldiers to ask his commanding officer for a short furlough, nominally to visit his friends in the hills, but really with a view to killing some neighbor who had rendered himself obnoxious to the sepoy's family, or in order to balance the murder account existing between his village or his relations and some other village or family in the district! Having obtained leave, he starts for the hills, where his people live in independence, beyond our frontier, and, having killed his man, returns to his military duty quite satisfied with himself. With these treacherous barbarians the two highest commandments are, blood for blood, and fire and sword for all kafirs—that is, infidels, or those who are not follow-

ers of the Prophet. This spirit of fanaticism, with which they are imbued by their priests, renders it impossible for us to accept them as soldiers in any large numbers; though, strange to say, the greater proportion in each Punjaub regiment has always behaved very well when engaged in the hills against their own kinsmen, so great is the influence of discipline even over these wild savages. Hospitality is a virtue on which they set great store; and while under a man's roof you are safe from injury; but, once left it, your host, who an hour before had declared that all he possessed was yours, that he was your slave, and who had given expression to other figments of purely Eastern conventionality, would without scruple murder you in the most cold-blooded manner for perhaps the old boots you had on, if perchance he had taken a fancy to them. The Pathan mother prays that her son may be a successful robber, and the mulas (priests), whose influence is great among this superstitious people, encourage them in their thieving propensities. Most of these tribes depend principally upon their flocks and herds for support, and, as the duty of guarding and watching them only affords occupation to a few, the Evil Spirit easily obtains a power over the idle but muscular bands of the many, finding employment for them in deeds of violence. Assassination is, according to their notions, quite as noble a species of warfare as any that we practise, and one cannot make them appreciate the distinction between the murder of an individual enemy and his destruction *en gros* on the field of battle.

They are naturally quick in reply, evincing great acuteness and ingenuity in their discussions on public affairs with our officers, one of whom relates the following story: At a council of Warzeeree head-men one day where he had been presiding, some of those present retired to say their prayers. As they went through their devotions near him, he remarked to a chief, what a pity it was that men so scrupulous about their religious observances should pay so little respect to truth as to think it no shame to deceive him about their crops, their revenue, etc. His immediate reply was: "Yes, that may be so; there was evidently some radical defect in their religious conduct, since God had thought fit to send a governor" (the English officer) "to rule over those who had been independent for so many previous centuries." There are, however, great differences in the disposition and cus-

toms and even the morality of these wild races from which we obtain our most hardy sepoys, those known as the "pass Afridees" (coming from the neighborhood of the Kyber) being the most difficult to tame and discipline. As a tribe their boast is that they have seen kings and generals come and go through the pass they call their own, but they have never bowed in allegiance to any. The officers commanding our regiments are naturally anxious to secure the services of such splendid men, trusting to the influence of discipline and to their own individual force of character and power over the native mind to smooth down their traits of licentious independence and to impart to them an honorable regard for the military engagement they entered into upon enlistment. Good faith and unswerving allegiance to the masters whose salt they eat is the highest and most essential virtue in an Eastern soldier, and hundreds of instances might be recorded where those wearing the British uniform have, under the most trying circumstances of temptation, remained loyal and true, although belonging to tribes where public faith is an unknown virtue. The independent tribes immediately bordering the Punjaub frontier can furnish about 170,000 fighting-men, of whom about 20,000 are Beloochees, the remainder of Pathan race.

The Goorkhas, of whom we have five regiments, are a Nepaulese race, and are easily recognized in India by their Chinese, Tartar-like features, of a flat nose and lidless-looking eyes; they have little or no whiskers, are short in stature, but with stout, squarely-built bodies and sturdy limbs, in fact, eminently suited for hill-warfare. They are Hindoos, and peculiarly sensitive about the killing of their sacred animal to satisfy the beef-eating appetite of the Englishman. Wherever they have been engaged they have earned the admiration of their British comrades; indeed, the regiment that took part in the siege of Delhi won for itself everlasting distinction. Out of its complement of 500 men it lost 319 upon that occasion. No men are fiercer in action; when they kill a man they like to smear their faces and hands with his blood, and in that condition they present a terrible aspect to men unaccustomed to their manners.

The strength of our Indian native army has varied from time to time according to the exigencies of war, but I do not think it

has ever been over about 250,000 men, an establishment it reached in 1858–'59. As years go by, the advantages of peace become more appreciated by the people; internal wars cease, and the only outlets for the would-be soldier's ambition are to be found in our army, and in the forces maintained by the feudatory and independent native princes. More men, therefore, turn their attention every succeeding year to agricultural and other peaceable pursuits. As the public mind grows less warlike, the army required to secure internal peace and order can be gradually diminished. We have long since given up the policy of annexing more territory to our Eastern empire; but, before this new policy had been adopted, for each successive province we acquired, a military force in proportion to its population was required to maintain order in it. In many instances the annexation was forced upon us by the uncontrollable lawlessness of the people concerned, but in nearly all cases we found a more or less turbulent population accustomed to bloodshed and internecine warfare. Compelling the native rulers to disband their troops, we had to deal with these discharged soldiers for at least one generation afterward, and they constituted a dangerous element, requiring constant watching, and the presence of a strong detachment from our army to overawe. As long as we had to provide for contingencies of this nature, we required a considerable number of native regiments; but, now that all the territory we rule over has long been subject to the peace-inculcating principles of our Government, the maintenance of law and order can be secured by a police, with little or no backing-up from the moral support afforded by the presence of a military force. In former times, some of the independent states within the peninsula of Hindostan were allowed to have great organized forces, approaching the strength and importance of armies. They were more or less a standing menace to our authority, supplying the disaffected with a rallying-point to which they could look for the redress of supposed wrongs. In those days, also, the means of rapid communication were small; the roads were few and bad. Then, there was much less difference than now between the military efficiency of an army organized after an Asiatic fashion and one organized on European principles: in fact, the weapons of both were much the same, whereas, now that our Indian troops are armed with

breech-loading rifles, and that we only allow the small contingents which we permit some of the native princes to maintain to have muzzle-loading smooth-bore muskets, the superiority of our native troops over all others in India has been increased a hundred-fold. The numbers of troops kept up to add to the self-importance of the Indian chiefs and princes is still, however, imposing on paper, as it reaches a total of about 300,000 men. We endeavor to keep it down as much as possible, not only from motives of purely British policy, but also because we regard the maintenance of so many idle men as a heavy tax upon the people, since we have assumed to ourselves the duties of providing for the internal peace and external defense of the country.

The instinct of Easterns is to estimate the importance of a prince very much in a direct ratio to the number of armed retainers he has about him; and it is difficult, therefore, to induce an Indian rajah to dispense with his little army, when he believes that his rank and position in the country depend very much upon it. At present the only purely native forces worthy of any consideration in India are those kept up by Sindia and the Nizam: the former has the rank of general in our service, the latter is still a boy. Now that railways and good metaled roads pierce the country in all directions (we have now over 7,000 miles of railway open in India), and that steam flotillas exist upon all the navigable rivers, we can concentrate on any threatened point any required number of troops with a rapidity undreamed of at the beginning of this century. Our army is maintained in the highest condition of efficiency both as to equipment and discipline, and, owing to the large amount of carriage in the shape of elephants, camels, mules, and bullocks, kept up for its use, troops can be moved upon the shortest notice. These circumstances have enabled us to reduce the strength of our native army to its present moderate establishment of about 132,000 sabres and bayonets. This, of course, is in addition to a large force of armed police acting exclusively under the orders of the civil authorities.

To the eye accustomed only to the uniforms of European armies, the dress of our native troops, especially that of the cavalry, is striking and picturesque. The graceful turban is pleasant to look at, and the variety of color, especially in the clothing of the Bengal army, gives an artistic effect to an assemblage of Indian

soldiers to be seen upon no parade-ground in Western countries. The men carry no knapsacks of any description, which causes them to have an appearance of suppleness and freedom of movement that is so remarkably wanting to the overladen soldiers of all European armies. The lance is the favorite weapon of the Indian cavalry-soldier, although he can also make very deadly use of his tulwar (sword), which, kept in a wooden scabbard, has an edge so sharp that it cuts all it touches. "Tent-pegging" is a very favorite amusement of the sowar, and, to those who have never been in India, it is curious to see how proficient he is at it. I have no doubt that the inhabitants of Malta have already been amazed at the graceful ease with which he accomplishes the feat of picking up the peg on the end of his lance. A tent-peg, two feet long, is driven with a large, heavy mallet into the ground, about three inches of it only remaining visible. At this small object the lancer rides at full gallop, endeavoring as he passes to transfix it with his lance, and, if he succeeds, the pace at which he is going causes the lance to draw the peg from the ground. It is a very pretty sight to see the successful trooper twirl his lance in triumph round his head as he rides off with the large, heavy tent-peg still firmly fixed on its point.

Previous to 1857, we had a considerable force of native artillery, but since then, with the exception of a few mountain-batteries for work on the northwest frontier, the artillery force in India is exclusively composed of British soldiers. The native attaches far greater importance to the possession of guns in action than we do: it is not so much on account of the loss he may hope to inflict thereby upon his enemy, as for the moral effect which the noise of artillery-fire has upon native troops; it seems to lend them increased confidence and courage, and, from having seen them, upon several occasions when our troops were advancing to attack them, fire blank cartridges before we had approached within the range of their guns, I presume they imagine it has a correspondingly depressing effect upon an enemy. Their belief in guns almost amounts to a superstition; and, knowing that, to protect ourselves against dangerous mutinies, we keep the artillery entirely in our own hands.

Since the invasion of Russia by Napoleon, we have been accustomed to hear a good deal of the Cossack troops, and of the

advantages possessed by an army well provided with them. We saw them in the Crimea, and all who know our Indian cavalry infinitely prefer the latter. They are far more intelligent, are better armed, and in every way better men, mounted on much better horses. Should we ever be engaged in any great European war, we could easily send 10,000 of them from India, which, added to the 6,000 British sabres we could put in the field, would form a very imposing cavalry force. The native infantry we could draw from India would be practically unlimited in number. No European troops are such good marchers, and all who have learned, from personal experience with them in action, to appreciate their fighting value, will agree with me in thinking that our recent discovery of how willing, nay anxious, our Indian army is to fight in this hemisphere, will enable England to reoccupy the military position she held in the estimation of the world at the beginning of this century.

G. I. Wolseley.

IX.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

1.— *Wilhelm Gesenius's Hebräisches und Chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament.* Achte Auflage, neu bearbeitet von F. Mühlau und H. Volck, ordentlichen Professoren der Theologie in Dorpat. Erste Hälfte. Leipsic: C. W. Vogel, 1877.

Gesenius's "Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon" made its first appearance three-quarters of a century ago, and it has till this day maintained its standing as the best manual of its kind in this branch of the Semitic languages. The author himself, who died in 1842, revised it three times, and left it, it is not too much to say, a masterwork of lexicography. The last complete revised edition is that of 1868, by Dietrich. The only Hebrew lexicographer who has ventured to vie with Gesenius in his field is Julius Fürst; but, though endowed with extensive philological knowledge and vast powers for work, he lacked the moderation, solidity, and soundness of the critical faculty, the stamp of which is seen on almost every page of Gesenius's numerous productions. Though deserving of credit for his additions to the stores of Old Testament lexicography, Fürst failed to supersede his master.

Yet, although holding its place, Gesenius's lexicon has been considerably changed in the editions produced after his death, and the reason is obvious. Semitic philology is a field on which very diligent research, with rich results, has been carried on in the last third of a century. Old Testament criticism has had new stores opened to it by unearthings on the cognate grounds of Egyptology and Assyriology. Theories and views change, and authorities supersede authorities. It is the task of every successive edition to place the work on the last level, to make it fresh "to date." The additions and modifications are, rightly or not, inserted in the old text, instead of being appended in notes; and it is only owing to the extraordinary merits of the original work, especially in parts less exposed to the influx of new discovery, that, as a whole, it still fully deserves to be called by the name of its author, even in the eighth edition, the

first half of which is now before us. We will compare this with the last by Gesenius himself, issued in 1834, and in this country translated by Robinson.

Ur, the Ur of the Chaldees, appears in the old edition as "a town of Mesopotamia," mentioned by Ammianus, "between Nisibis and the Tigris;" in the new it is "the *Uru* of the Assyrians, now *El-Mugheir*, south of Babylon."

Caphtor, to Gesenius, is "most probably *Crete*," as Michaelis explained it; his editors, after Ebers, think it designated "probably a coast-strip of Northern Egypt."

Gesenius's "probable" derivation of *A'hashdarpenim* is, after De Sacy, from the Persian *Kshetr*, province, and *ban*, guardian; the new edition substitutes for these words, after Haug, *Kshatra* and *pâwan*, though with the same meanings.

A'hashteranim, according to the old edition, signifies "mules, from the Persian *estâr*;" according to the new, "horses, probably in an adjective form, meaning the *lordly*." The latter explanation is hardly tenable.

Gamal (camel) is, according to Gesenius, probably derived from the corresponding Arabic root signifying *to bear*; according to Profs. Mühlau and Volck, "undoubtedly" from a similar root signifying *to be perfect, to be beautiful*, the strangeness of which derivation is extenuated by the high estimate in which the animal is held by the Orientals.

Most of the Hebrew names beginning with the component part *abi* or *a'hi* are almost all differently explained in the two editions. In the old, *Abihail*, *Abitub*, *Abinoam*, *Abiezer*, *Ahitub*, *Ahiezer*, are explained by "father of strength," "father of goodness," "father of grace," "father of help," "friend of goodness," "brother of help;" in the new, by "my father is strength," "my father is goodness," "my father is grace," "my father is help," "my brother is goodness," "my brother is help."

Taking both lists of names referred to, we have no hesitation to say that, on the whole, we prefer the original explanations, although, of course, both the original and the old can rest only on the vaguest kind of conjecture, since the ancient Hebrews, in forming and selecting names, in order to distinguish them from words of common parlance, almost always adopted strange forms and combinations, under which allusions to domestic relations and momentary circumstances were variously hidden. Altogether, great as is the advantage which the new edition has above the old on account of its very newness,

and greatly as we appreciate the fullness of research and correctness of execution which make it a worthy continuation of the labors of an admirable scholar, we yet advise all earnest students of Hebrew not to neglect consulting the old guide from absolute reliance on the newest. The "two are better than one."

2.— *Von Reumont's History of Tuscany. Geschichte Toscana's seit dem Ende des florentinischen Freistaates.* Von ALFRED VON REUMONT. Erster Theil: Die Medici. 1530–1737. Zweiter Theil: Geschichte Toscana's unter dem Hause Lothringen-Habsburg. 1737–1859. Gotha: F. A. Perthes. 1876, 1877. 8vo, pp. xviii.–654, xix.–681, Register 74.

THE popular history of Tuscany ends with the fall of the Florentine Commonwealth in 1530. Few of the modern historians have cared to prolong their labors beyond this date. Napier's "Florentine History" (London, 1847, 6 vols.) extends to the accession of Ferdinand III. in 1790, and a supplementary chapter continues the fate of the state to 1824. T. A. Trollope ends his "History of the Commonwealth of Florence" (London, 1865, 4 vols.) with the siege and surrender of the city in 1530; and the latest native historian, Gino Capponi, closes with the year 1532, the more correct date of the fall of Florentine liberty, which, in a feeble way, survived the siege two years.* The most recent history of Florence, by F. E. Perrens, "Histoire de Florence" (Paris, 1877, 3 vols. thus far issued) will also end with the commonwealth. The author intends, however, in a final volume, to trace the history of the remains of the republic during the principality, and gives in his preface his excuse for not continuing his history through the reign of the Medici, "une ville qui n'est plus qu'une résidence princière n'est qu'une ville morte." These words explain the want of a complete history of Florence, a want which the work of Von Reumont so tardily but so perfectly supplies.

There is, it is true, a falling off in the interest of the history of the city (which was also the state) after it had ceased to be a republic, but it is going too far to say that Florence, under the Medici, was a "dead city," or that it at once lost its personality as a state. It was not until the government passed from the hands of its own princes into those of a foreign line that Tuscany can be said to have lost its importance as a state. If the historian is to pause

* For a notice of his "Storia della Repubblica di Firenze," Florence, 1875, 2 vols., *see* the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, October, 1875.

anywhere before his whole task is finished, rather than at 1530, it should be at 1737, the date of the death of John Gaston, the last of the Medici.

From another standpoint the later history of Florence is not behind the earlier in interest. It is crowded with tragic incidents. We need only mention the murder of Alessandro, the first duke, the mysterious death of Filippo Strozzi, the story of Bianca Cappello, the domestic tragedies which cast a gloom over the later years of the first Cosimo's reign, and many other events that have afforded material for the dramatist and novelist. Nor are such names as Galileo wanting in this period.

It is, however, for other reasons that the history of the period treated by Von Reumont must always interest the student, and even the general reader. In the first place, it is the continuation, or, rather, the logical conclusion of the earlier period. The Florentines had allowed one of their own citizens virtually to usurp the government of the state—what a Medici could and would do when he had absolute power cannot be understood without reading the history of the reign of Cosimo I. How unimportant the once powerful city became can only be known from a perusal of the story of the twenty-eight years of the rule of Francis II. In short, the later history of Florence must be studied in order to appreciate fully what a boon its citizens threw away when their party spirit and selfishness caused them to lose their independence. Judging, then, the early and later history of Tuscany as a whole, the historian of the latter period should be well acquainted with the former. This is the case, happily, with Von Reumont, than whom no one now living is more familiar with all epochs of Italian, and especially of Florentine history.* He has enjoyed exceptional advantages in composing his work; his long residence in Italy as a diplomat and scholar (he was formerly minister at Rome, and afterward at Florence) has made him acquainted with public and private archives. His knowledge of Italian literature and society has enabled him to give a clear and interesting account of the literary and social life of Florence in the later period of its history. His narrative is always direct, clear, and impartial, and he does not neglect the social for the political history of the country. Although moderate in his views, he seems to us to do full justice to such characters as Cosimo I., whose virtues he recognizes and whose crimes he condemns.

* For a notice of his masterly work, "Lorenzo de' Medici, il Magnifico," Leipsic, 1874, 2 vols., *see* the North American Review, April, 1876.

Such is an incomplete notice of a work that will henceforth be a necessary supplement to all histories of the Florentine Commonwealth, and which will increase, if possible, the high reputation the author has gained by his previous works on Italian history and art. It only remains to add that the volumes are well printed, and accompanied by genealogical and chronological tables, and a valuable bibliography of sources. There is also (what is chronically wanting in German books) a good index. The work forms part of the excellent "Geschichte der europäischen Staaten. Herausgegeben von A. H. Heeren, F. A. Ukert, und W. v. Giesebrecht."

3.— *Commentary on the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes.* By Franz Delitzsch, D. D., Professor of Old and New Testament Exegesis, Leipsic. Translated from the German by Rev. M. G. Easton, D. D. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 1877. 8vo, pp. xii.–442.

This translation forms the fifty-fourth volume of Clark's "Foreign Theological Library." The original completes the Keil and Delitzsch series of commentaries on the Old Testament. The translator justly expects the work to meet with a welcome reception from theological students and scholars, for whom alone it is written, whether they "may agree with the conclusions of the learned author or not." This, of course, refers to his general conclusions as to the tendency, composition, age, authorship, and canonical value of the books commented on ; for his philological, grammatical, and kindred remarks, though many single points will be disputed, cannot fail to elicit from every Hebraist, when collectively considered, the highest praise for soundness, sagacity, and erudition. Those general conclusions, however, differ considerably in regard to the two books, the authorship of both of which is commonly ascribed to King Solomon.

He defends this authorship as to the Song of Songs, which, "while all other songs of Solomon have disappeared, the providence of God has preserved . . . the crown of them all. . . . If not the production of Solomon, it must at least have been written near his time." He earnestly, though very good-naturedly, assails those critics who represent it as a product of the post-exilian age, especially the Jewish historian Graetz, who (in his "Schir-ha-Schirim," 1871) discovers in it not only Græcisms, but distinct imitations of the idyls of Theocritus, written in the third century B. C. The Shulamith of Dr. Delitzsch is "an historic personage . . . a country maiden of

humble rank," in beauty and purity "a lily of the field. . . . Solomon raises this child to the rank of queen, and becomes beside this queen as a child." She teaches him simplicity, humility, and self-restraint. This is the ethical background of this erotic poem, which is classified as a dramatic pastoral. It is not allegorical, but it has "not only an historico-ethical, but also a typico-mystical meaning." It depicts Solomon as "a type of the Prince of peace," and "the love subsisting between Christ and his Church shadows itself forth in it." This fully orthodox view of the subject the author first expounded in a monograph on the Song in 1851, which, as he quotes himself, elicited from a critic in Colani's *Revue de Théologie* the remark, "Ce n'est pas la première rêverie de ce genre sur le livre en question ; plût à Dieu que ce fût la dernière." Dr. Delitzsch designates this remark as "frivolous," but at the same time stigmatizes some allegorizing speculations on the same subject as "absurd." It was probably from politeness that the Frenchman refrained from using this epithet.

As to the age and authorship of Ecclesiastes, Dr. Delitzsch entertains more independently critical views. He considers it not only a post-exilian book, but "one of the most recent of the books of the Old Testament," though "tradition regards it as Solomonic." Koheleth, the son of David, king in Jerusalem, designates Solomon ; but he who so strangely designates the famous king of all Israel is a man of a late age, who "clothed his own life-experiences in the confessions of Solomon. . . . It may be regarded beyond a doubt" that the book was written under the Persian domination, probably in the century preceding the conquest of Alexander the Great. Of its pessimistic philosophy, though it is pervaded by a profound theistic conviction, our author has a rather low opinion. "In none of the Old Testament books," he says, "does the Old Covenant appear as it does in the Book of Koheleth, as 'that which decayeth and waxeth old, and is ready to vanish away' (Heb. viii. 13). If the darkness of earth must be enlightened, then a new covenant must be established." But it was probably not this low-toned philosophy which convinced Dr. Delitzsch of the absurdity of the tradition which makes the wise Solomon the author of the book. We believe he would have explained away its lack of wisdom on the ground of a peculiar mood and depression of spirit in the royal writer, had he been able to do sufficient violence to his own linguistic conscience, which is incomparably stronger than his critico-historical. By words and forms he abundantly proves to his readers, as he could not but

convince himself, that Ecclesiastes is a production of an age not much removed from the time of the earlier authors of the Mishnah, though he recoils from seeing in it, as Graetz does, a work of this very latter time. The similar linguistic evidences of late age in the Song of Songs were not numerous and strong enough to conquer his theologico-historical proclivities.

4.—*Charlotte Cushman: Her Letters and Memories of her Life.* Edited by her Friend Emma Stebbins. Boston: Houghton, Osgood & Co. 1878.

Biographies of actresses are not numerous; but that of Miss Cushman needs no appeal to the fact of its belonging to a limited class to establish its value. It is enough that it tells the story of an earnest, generous, gifted, and hard-working woman, thrown on her resources of talent, with but little preparation, and, by unremitting effort, attaining to wide fame, wealth, and the love and honor of a large circle of friends. The gist of this narrative has already been given in magazine sketches and newspaper notices; but there are many details concerning various passages in the arduous early career of Charlotte Cushman which appear in Miss Stebbins's Life for the first time. It is a pathetic and an instructive picture, that of the young singer, when her voice failed her in New Orleans, turning actress almost in a day, and plunging into her profession as *Lady Macbeth* in a borrowed costume, adapted to her tall figure, from the wardrobe of the short and stout Madame Closel, the tragedienne of the French Theatre in that city. Her first parts were studied in the bare garret of the house where she was boarding, the young actress sitting on the floor, in this subtegulaneous solitude, to meditate how she should treat her character. She made herself a good standing at once, but it was some ten years before she gained distinguished triumphs. Her native city, Boston, with its usual coldness, gave her small audiences at her farewell engagement before going to Europe, in 1844, though the same public had gone in enthusiastic crowds to see Macready, whom she had been supporting, and who himself sailed for England on the morning of her benefit. London was more discriminating, and gave her the highest place at once. It was not until long afterward that Boston redeemed itself in this regard, by the public honor of naming the "Cushman School" after her. But these years of neglect were turned to good account by the brave lady. She was, as has often been said, a laborious student of her art; but in the sense of incessant devotion

to its every particular, rather than in that of mere grinding toil. She learned a new scene in three readings, after which she could retain it for years. She belonged to the spontaneous class of female actors, as distinguished from the Janauschecks and Modjeskas. This comes out notably in the anecdote of her first assumption of *Meg Merrilies*, a *rôle* she was called upon to take at less than a day's notice. A sentence preceding her first entrance—"*Meg*—why she is no longer what she was; she dotes," etc.—suddenly inspired her with the proper rendering of the part, while she stood at the wings preparing to go on. Her subsequent portrayal of *Meg* was merely an elaborating of that moment's inspiration, which had in it the germ of a great renown. Much space is given by Miss Stebbins to the showing of Miss Cushman's private character, which was a noble, genial one, strong under great suffering, and full of help for others, giving to her life a remarkably pure and beautiful unity. Her correspondents appear to have been careless of her letters, and those which are embraced in the memoir disappoint. There is, in the whole, but one bit of dramatic criticism by Miss Cushman—an excellent paragraph on the Théâtre Français. The book itself cannot claim a high place as a literary performance; and, even as a record, it suffers from the editor's bulky style, and the scattering at random through the chapters of her analysis of the subject's character. It, however, effects its purpose of impressing strongly on the mind how much in this great career was due to moral integrity, unwearied effort, and earnestness, in all affairs as well as in art—that generosity of nature which Miss Stebbins incorrectly describes as "an *outgiving* of herself" on the part of Miss Cushman. By this she means, we presume, her friend's devotion of herself to all good purposes.

5.—*Memoir of William Francis Bartlett.* By Francis Winthrop Palfrey. Boston: Houghton, Osgood & Company. The Riverside Press, Cambridge. 1878. 12mo, pp. 309.

This is a remarkable book alike for what it is and what it is not. It is the story of one of the most memorable young men that our country has produced, and it is not much of anything else. The author has been content to let his hero speak for himself; and, in view of the temptation to a fellow-soldier to bring in all sorts of collateral illustration, it may be truly said that he wrote this interesting volume with the lamp of sacrifice burning before him.

This life of thirty-six years began without much promise, and its fire seems to have been first kindled by the war in which the man was

such a hero. At the beginning of 1861 he was a free-and-easy student at Harvard University, in the junior class. He was with the South in his political sympathies, and in January of that very year he wrote a thesis in defense of the rights of the South under the Constitution. But he came of a martial and patriotic race, whose fathers had fought at Louisburg and in the Revolution; and he went for the whole country, and not for any section of it. He had his first drill January 4, 1861. April 17th he joined the Fourth Battalion of Massachusetts Volunteers; went to Fort Independence April 25th; and July 2d he was appointed captain in the Twentieth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers by the influence of the lieutenant-colonel, the writer of this memoir. After some weeks spent in recruiting, he went to Camp Benton, on the Potomac, as senior captain, with his company on the right of the line, and arrived at Camp Foster September 15, 1861. He was in the battle of Ball's Bluff in October, and the terrible slaughter of officers there left him the second officer of his regiment, and he was so for six months. On the 24th of April, 1862, he was wounded at Yorktown so severely as to lose his leg by amputation, and he left for Baltimore the same afternoon. He then went home to Massachusetts, and received his degree at commencement. He was again in the field in September, at Pittsfield, Massachusetts—where he found the lady who was to be his wife—and he was chosen unanimously colonel of his regiment, the Forty-ninth. January 24th he sailed with his regiment for New Orleans; and, after various services, he was, contrary to his judgment, with General Banks in his first disastrous assault upon Port Hudson, and was wounded severely in the wrist and slightly in the foot. At home again till the middle of April, 1864, he soon started, at the head of the Forty-ninth Regiment, for Annapolis, and at the end of the month he was at Rappahannock Station. He was wounded in the head in the battle of the Wilderness; received his commission as brigadier-general June 28th, 1864; went with the Ninth Corps against Petersburg; then, after a brave fight in storming the works, he was taken prisoner July 30th; and, after sad experience in the Danville and Libby Prisons, on the 24th of September he was released by exchange, and on his way home. In June, 1865, he was called to the command of the First Division of the Ninth Army Corps, near Washington; and in August he had leave of absence for six months to recruit his health in Europe. He was married in October; sailed at once for Europe; returned in June, 1866; and the remaining years of his life were

full of business enterprise and public honors. His sense of honor led him to decline a proffered fortune, which was his by law, and which his large family needed; and he died December 17, 1876, in a faith as calm as his manhood had been strong.

He was brave, judicious, kindly, patriotic, and devout. Whittier wrote of him thus:

> "The more than Sidney of our day,
> Above the sin and wrong
> Of cruel strife, he heard alway
> The angels' Advent song."

There are some characteristics of his life and career that deserve especial emphasis. It is to be remembered that he went into the war not as a partisan but as a patriot; not because he hated the South, or that he believed that slavery should be abolished by violence, but because he was for the nation and the flag, and thought that the Union was worth fighting for and dying for. It will be seen that he never had any sectional rancor, and, while he fought to the last against secession, he appreciated the exact political issue—the limit of jurisdiction belonging to the States and to the nation; and, when the question was decided by arms and the seceding States returned to the Union, he was for receiving them as champions of a cause sacred to them from their theoretic principle as well as their alleged industrial interests. In his noble commencement speech at the dedication of the Harvard Memorial Hall, June 23, 1874, he claimed for his fellow-soldiers equal devotion to the South as well as the North: "They died for their country—for the South no less than the North! And the Southern youth, in the days to come, will see this, and, as he stands in these hallowed walls, and reads those names, realizing the grandeur and power which, thanks to them, is still his, will exclaim: 'These men fought for my salvation as well as for their own! They died to preserve, not merely the unity of the nation, but the destinies of a continent!'"

The letters, diaries, and descriptions of scenes and events and persons in this volume are full of interest, and the book belongs to our living literature. Were there time, it would be profitable to consider the relative effect of the soldier's life and the scholar's in maturing the powers by observation and thought, and in exhausting the constitution by excessive straining. Literature as well as war has its wounds, and this soldier died at thirty-six, the age at which Byron closed his fitful career. Which is the harder, to fight bloody battles, or to make poems which are battles, and which put into verse the fire that the soldier puts into his marches and his dash?

6.—*Klein's History of the Drama. Geschichte des Drama's von* J. L. Klein. Leipzig: T. O. Weigel. 1865–1876. 12 vols. 8vo.—I., II. *Geschichte des griechischen und römischen Drama's.* 1865. Pp. ix.–520, 705.—III. *Das aussereuropäische Drama und die lateinischen Schauspiel nach Christus bis Ende des X. Jahrhunderts.* 1866. Pp. viii.–764.—IV., V., VI. 1, 2. VII. *Geschichte des italienischen Drama's.* 1866–1869. Pp. 925, 761; xxx.–778, 627, 747.—VIII.–XI. 1, 2. *Geschichte des spanischen Drama's.* 1871–1875. Pp. 928, 644, 733, 581, 707.—XII. *Geschichte des englischen Drama's.* Erster Band. 1876. Pp. 754.

Klein's gigantic work, in its inception reminding one of the encyclopedical works of the middle ages, has been brought to a sudden close by the author's death, and will remain another unfinished monument of human endeavor and of the limitations of human effort.

The author had proposed no less a task than to give a detailed account, according to the principles of modern criticism, of the drama in all ages and among all peoples; what he actually accomplished may be seen above. He completed the history of the Classical Drama, the Drama of India, China, Japan, and South America (the Inca and Aztec Drama), the Latin origins of the Modern Drama, the Italian Drama to the present day (to Silvio Pellico and Nota), the Spanish Drama to and including Calderon, and the English Drama to the Coventry Plays.*

Our wonder at the enormous amount of work accomplished is increased when we examine the manner in which it has been done, and consider the vast expense of mental labor and erudition represented by the twelve volumes before us. The methods of modern criticism have revolutionized literary history. In the development of this department of study the first stage was the biographical dictionary; the second, a connected history of the literature produced by simply coördinating the separate phenomena, and submitting them to a purely æsthetic judgment. The third, or modern method, considers no appearance in literature as independent, but examines its causes and mutual relations. This method, not regarding the drama as a sporadic manifestation, investigates the continuity of the theatre between the old and modern world, and the modifying influences which caused the drama of a particular people to assume a special form. In other words, it writes a history of the dramatic

* It is difficult to see why Klein did not continue the Spanish drama as he did the Italian, down to the present day. The work is apparently ended, and the author takes a formal farewell of his subject in one of his amusing dialogues with the reader.

elements in the character and literature of a people. It is easy to see that in this new method there are many dangerous shoals as well as perilous depths: the writer may be stranded or he may sink from sight overwhelmed by his mass of materials. The latter is the danger to which Klein is most frequently exposed. Himself a dramatist of no mean order, he possessed very high critical ability, and, what is remarkable with such a temperament, immense power of application and patient study.*

The first two volumes of his work are the best; in them his own personality is more restrained, he is in perfect sympathy with the great dramatists he is describing, and the material at his disposition has not yet grown to the enormous proportions it afterward assumed. Klein had, it seems to us, a fatal misconception of the function of an historian. The historian, we think, is not bound to prove the correctness of his assertions by constantly laying before the reader the material he has himself used. If the reader is obliged to go over the same ground, what is the advantage of the history? It is the duty of the historian to collect, but still more to digest, his facts. Some critic has touched the weak spot in Klein's character as an historian, when he said that he suffered from imperfect literary digestion. The reader is overwhelmed with extracts, analyses, discussions, and a vast amount of utterly irrelevant matter. In the last volume, for example, twenty-two pages are devoted to the geographical constitution of Great Britain, thirty-six to the original and immigrated inhabitants, forty-eight to the Roman and thirty-seven to the Anglo-Saxon conquests. Forty-eight pages are given to the various collections of Scotch and English ballads, with comparatively little reference to their contents. This explains why the work has assumed such gigantic proportions; in the volume above mentioned 754 pages bring us only as far as the Coventry Plays. Another serious defect that adds largely to the volume of the work is the author's fondness for extended analyses of plays under discussion. The general reader will not care to wade through these voluminous compends, and the student will prefer to turn to the original. For example, the second part of XI. volume is de-

* Julius Leopold Klein was born in 1810, at Miskolcz, Hungary. His parents and early teachers were German. He pursued the study of medicine at Vienna and Berlin, where, after travel in Italy and Greece, he settled and devoted himself to literature. His first drama, "Maria von Medici," appeared in 1842. His collected dramatic works were published in 1871–'72, in 7 vols. He died at Pankow, near Berlin, August 2, 1876.

voted to Calderon from 1622 to his death in 1681. The few biographical details are given in the previous volume, and the 707 pages of this one are filled with analyses of his plays.

In other words, Klein's work is made up largely of the author's sources heaped indiscriminately together and expanded by endless analyses of ballads, novels, plays, etc., and interspersed with irrelevant discussions and savage attacks on the author's critics. It is a monument of misdirected energy, pervaded by an uncontrollable personality and an utter absence of all true conception of modern scholarship.

7.—*D'Ancona, Origini del Teatro in Italia. Origini del Teatro in Italia. Studj sulle Sacre Rappresentazioni seguiti da un' appendice sulle rappresentazioni del contado toscano. Di* Alessandro D'Ancona. Firenze: Successori Le Monnier. 1877. 2 vols. 12mo, pp. 438, 432.

In 1872 Prof. D'Ancona published at Florence three volumes of the religious plays peculiar to Tuscany, technically known as *sacre rappresentazioni*,* promising in the preface to issue, as soon as possible, a volume containing the results of his study on the sources, form, and history, of these plays. The promised volume has grown to two, and is of a much wider range than the title would lead the reader to suspect. In order to trace the history of the *sacre rappresentazioni*, the author has been obliged to go back and study the development of the modern drama in general, and in so doing he has filled the long-felt want of a connected history of the liturgical drama and its development in the various countries of Europe. The contents of the two volumes may be divided into four parts. In the first, the author traces the rise of the drama in Europe from the liturgy to the mystery; in the second, the special forms assumed in Italy by the liturgical drama prior to the *sacre rappresentazioni;* in the third, the birth of the *sacre rappresentazioni* in Tuscany in the fifteenth century, and its history until it was destroyed by the Renaissance in the sixteenth century; in the fourth, a detailed account is given of everything relating to the representation of these plays, the time, place, actors, etc., with an examination of the typical characters. An appendix furnishes an account of the

* "Sacre Rappresentazioni dei secoli XIV, XV, XVI, raccolte e illustrate per cura di Alessandro D'Ancona." Firenze: Successori Le Monnier. 3 vols. 12mo. 1872.

popular dramatic representations of the various parts of Europe and Italy, and especially of those peculiar to Tuscany.

The early history of the drama in Italy does not materially differ from that of France, for instance, except that the former went through more stages of growth and finally produced, not the mystery, but the *sacre rappresentazioni*. These stages of the Italian drama are as follows: from the liturgical drama, which was the same as in the rest of Europe, was evolved in Umbria the *lauda drammatica*, a hymn of dramatic character sung, not acted, by the Flagellants and other similar religious organizations of the thirteenth century. Afterward the *lauda* became what was known as *divozione*, and was acted in the churches; from this are derived the *sacre rappresentazioni*, and their popular counterpart, the *maggi*, of the Tuscan peasants.

The *sacra rappresentazione* is a form peculiar to Florence, where it arose about the middle of the fifteenth century from a union of the *divozione* from Umbria and certain civic displays which had been used from time immemorial to celebrate the feast of John the Baptist, the patron of Florence.

Nothing can be more dissimilar than the French *mystère* and the *sacra rappresentazione*, and this difference shows the superior intelligence and culture of the Florentines of that day. The *mystère*, in its final form, is a huge, shapeless composition often disfigured by the utmost grossness and extravagance. The *rappresentazione*, on the other hand, although necessarily stamped with certain mediæval signs by its origin, is nevertheless a dramatic form that needed only a master-mind like Shakespeare or Lope de Vega to become the germ of a modern national Italian drama.

Those who are not specially interested in the early mediæval drama will find D'Ancona's work extremely interesting from the standpoint just hinted at. We often hear the question, "Why have the Italians and French no national drama?" The question in regard to the former has been answered in various ways. Schlegel affirms that the Italians have no dramatic talent, an assertion too absurd to treat seriously. Hillebrand ("Études historiques et littéraires," Paris, 1868) attributes the want of a national drama to the lack of national unity, but this would not have prevented a local drama in each of the states into which Italy was then divided.* The true explanation, it seems to us, is the one given by De Amicis and

* *See* "L'Imitazione latina nella commedia italiana del XVI secolo, Vincenzo de Amicis," Pisa, 1871.

D'Ancona. The Renaissance substituted for the popular national drama, as embodied in the *sacra rappresentazione*, an imitation of the Latin drama, and the new pagan culture dried up the religious sources of inspiration. It is the same story in France. In England and Spain, the revival of letters came after the national drama had assumed sufficient consistency not to be easily affected ; and, moreover, the Renaissance in those countries never assumed the form of a popular enthusiasm as it did in Italy, and to a less degree in France. A recent French writer on this subject, M. Sepet ("Le Drame chrétien au moyen âge," Paris, 1878), recognizes this fact, and declares that the national drama of France is not in the future but in the past, and that it will be impossible to create a new form of drama. France must, he asserts, renew the tradition interrupted in the sixteenth century by the cultivated classes, but still subsisting in the breasts of the people who, even at the present day, still represent *mystères.*

We cannot praise too highly the admirable way in which Prof. D'Ancona has performed his difficult task. No one is better qualified for it. He is profoundly acquainted with the popular literature of Italy in all its branches, and has already illustrated the ballads and legends of his country with remarkable acumen. He has pursued a strictly historical method, and thrown a flood of light on an obscure period in Italian literary history.

In conclusion, we must not omit mention of the appendix, which gives an account of the Tuscan peasant-plays still performed in various parts of the province, and which, on a small scale, are counterparts of the famous Ober Ammergau Passion-play, but include besides plays on religious subjects those founded on historical and romantic themes. We commend these popular plays to the attention of the tourist, who may witness them in the neighborhood of Pisa during the summer.

8.—*Rome in Canada. The Ultramontane Struggle for Supremacy over the Civil Authority.* By Charles Lindsey. Toronto : Lovell Brothers. 1877.

The writer of this volume undertakes to show that the Ultramontane Catholics in the Province of Quebec set up the extreme pretensions of the Church to oversway all other authority, and aim at nothing less than complete control of the government. Startling as this proposition seems, he supports it by such an array of the direct claims and authoritative declarations of the ecclesiastics under

the lead of M. Bourget, late Bishop of Montreal, and the head of the new school, backed by the sympathy and approval of the Supreme Pontiff, and by such citations of instances in which the endeavor has been made to carry out these pretensions, that it is impossible not to be convinced that he has a strong case. He does not merely assert, but he shows from the words of the bishops and priests, and the writings of the leading Ultramontane advocates, that it is directly claimed for the Church that she is superior to the state in authority ; that laws should be made and administered in obedience to her behests ; that marriage contracts without her approval are null, whatever the provisions of the civil law may be ; that public discussion should be restrained to the limits laid down by ecclesiastical authority ; that freedom of expression and toleration of opinion should not be permitted, etc. As a practical result of such theories, bishops have given instructions to priests, and these have acted upon them, to influence the action of voters in parliamentary elections, by plainly indicating how they should vote, and threatening them with all the terrors of the Church's disfavor if they disobeyed. The contested election cases of Charlevoix and Bonaventure, in 1875, brought out most remarkable revelations of "undue influence" exerted by priests by commands and threats, to secure the return of members whose conduct in Parliament would be subservient to the authority of the Church. Efforts have not been directed merely to securing the election of the faithful, but they have been watched in the performance of their duties, and clerical influence has been brought to bear upon them after their election. Instances are also cited of attempts to influence the judiciary, and secure an interpretation of the laws under a recognition of the authority of the code of Rome, as conclusive in all matters affecting religious rights. The assumptions of the Ultramontane party to exercise complete control over the children of the Church in their capacity as citizens and as public officials are very clearly revealed in this record, and the logical consequence is made plain that, if this insidious and presumptuous power is not checked, it will not stop short of a virtual control of legislation and administration, which would make it extremely uncomfortable for those who were not faithful and obedient children of the Church of Rome. Mr. Lindsey's book is replete with historical information, leading up to the present condition of things, and with facts supporting his conclusions. He makes it quite clear that, on American soil and under the dominion of a Protestant power, the highest pretensions of the Church of Rome are more confidently asserted and more

nearly realized than in any European country where the government is avowedly Catholic.

9.—*Alphonse Daudet. Le Nabab.* Mœurs Parisiennes. Septième édition. Paris: G. Charpentier. 1877. 12mo, pp. 508.

The extraordinary run which M. Daudet's novels are having, not merely in the author's country, but everywhere that either French or English is read, justifies us in examining with some care the causes of their popularity. With regard to "The Nabob," it lies to a great extent on the surface. The characters are taken from people still living, or only lately dead, and well known in Paris or the world over for their crimes, their extravagant luxury, or their close connection with a fallen dynasty. With such *dramatis personæ* he must be a poor novelist who could not give his story a more than usual interest. If we were to imagine novel-writing as a form of fiction in vogue in the days of the Augustan Empire, it would not have needed the style of a Sallust to induce Romans to read a story in which Catiline, Cæsar, and Cicero figured; and, though there is certainly a wide interval between the Empire of the Cæsars and the Third Empire of France, there was still enough pomp, if not greatness, and notoriety, if not renown, in the reign of the third Napoleon, to make any story connected with the doings of his court interesting. M. Daudet brings down great game. In Mora, we have an unmistakable likeness of Morny; in "The Nabob," a photograph of a character well known in Paris; in Jenkins, a man distinguished in two countries; in Hemerlingue, a money-lender almost as well known as the Rothschilds. In a note at the end of the volume the public is informed that the publisher is authorized by the author "to declare that the scenes in the book relating to Tunis are altogether imaginary, and that he never had any intention of portraying any functionary of that state." The suggestion that the book had created a sensation among the Tunisian functionaries, and that this note was therefore necessary to put the author right with the Tunisian public, is, in a small way, no bad illustration of M. Daudet's delicate humor.

But M. Daudet is far from needing any adventitious aids to the interest of his readers. "The Nabob" would be a good novel, if there had never been any third Empire, and if all the characters had been purely imaginary. The author is probably the cleverest of all the modern school of French novelists, a school for pure cleverness more distinguished even than any of its brilliant predecessors. We say

cleverness, as distinguished from genius. The *feu sacré* of Hugo, of George Sand, of Balzac, has not been kept burning for such writers as Cherbuliez, or Droz, or Daudet. But Cherbuliez, or Droz, or Daudet, can each in his different way attempt and succeed in feats of literary skill which those predecessors never would have attempted. In the previous generation there was, in each case, an inspiration. Each novelist of those we have named had a message for the world, which he delivered—a message almost as distinct in French fiction as that of Thackeray or Dickens in English. The new school, or rather the new men—for there is no school—have no message to deliver; but, finding to their hands the form of the novel handed down to them, have set industriously to work to do with it whatever they could accomplish. The result is, productions of all kinds, and of extraordinary cleverness. It is quite safe, too, to say that the new French novel is distinguished from the old in being less purely national; that is, it is not difficult to trace the influence of other literature upon it. Such writers as Victor Hugo, George Sand, and Balzac, alike in nothing else, were alike in being thoroughly French. They are all nearly untranslatable. Such writers as Droz, Daudet, and Cherbuliez, are not only translatable, but do very well in translations. In Daudet we can trace almost in particular sentences and paragraphs the influence of Dickens in France, which those who have read M. Jules Janin know must be an influence of very recent date. In the character of good M. Joyeuse we have a genuine touch of Dickens.

M. Daudet, however, holds himself out, if we may use the expression, as a realist. We have some indications of what his powers are in this way in "The Nabob." In the suicide of Monpavon and the horrible description of the "Œuvre de Bethléem" we have realism at its acutest. But M. Daudet is much too clever to give himself up to realism, or to anything, completely. He can be by turns realist, idealist, humorist, and—shall we say it?—sensationalist. His humor is far greater than that of any modern French novelist that we know of, and, curiously enough, as we just now hinted, it is to a great extent not only French wit, with which we are so familiar, but also the real English humor of character—the humor that delights in sympathetic reproduction of all types, bad and good, not from an ideal or even strictly real point of view, but from that point which humor alone supplies. The "*Mémoires d'un Garçon de Bureau*" which run through "The Nabob," the story of the financial operations of the *Caisse Territoriale*, corresponding with the

"Anglo-Indian" institution, presided over by Montague Tigg and his friend Mr. Jonas in "Martin Chuzzlewit," are conceived and executed in a vein of which it would be difficult to find other examples in French fiction. The entertainment given by M. Noël to his fellow-servants, we can hardly avoid considering a French edition of the servants' "swarry" in "Pickwick" (not that we mean to imply any plagiarism), and the "Mémoires" from beginning to end are the most capital possible comic foil to the tragedy of the main story. The last touch, in which the nearly ruined old *garçon de bureau*, who has seen his substance slowly frittered away by the brilliant swindlers in whose employment he has been living, who has seen the great bank collapse into utter nothingness before his eyes, and yet who has acquired a taste for speculation which has entered into his very constitution, closes his diary, is full of a delicate humor and appreciation of character which we come upon in a French novel with equal surprise and pleasure.

But granting M. Daudet all imaginable cleverness and an extraordinary fund of humor, what is it in his novel that to Anglo-Saxon readers at least is displeasing? There is something that grates upon us throughout. It is certainly not a want of morality; for there could be nothing purer, more moral than the whole story. It is the story of virtue rewarded, of vice punished; and not only that, but the rewards and punishments are meted out in accordance with the laws which usually determine the results of human action; there is therefore nothing offensive in the morality. It is, we think, because there is so little that is interesting in any of the characters of the book. With the exception of the Nabob, who unquestionably arouses our interest, the characters are repulsive. Mora is an elegant *roué*, who, with shattered constitution, keeps himself alive on Jenkins's pills, to fill the public eye for a brief space, and to seduce the heroine; Jenkins is a quack, without a single redeeming quality; Hemerlingue is an unregenerate money-changer, introduced chiefly to rival and ruin the Nabob; Felicia is a Bohemian, who allows Mora to ruin her—we do not understand whether to pay her debts, or out of pique at the neglect of Paul de Géry. Paul himself is a model young man, devoted to his chief, but we feel that he must have been engaged in pretty dirty business for him. Indeed, considering the operations most of the characters are occupied with, the extreme goodness of Paul is a little mawkish, and affects us somewhat as we might be affected by that of a young man who is everything to his

mother and sisters, but who, we find, derives his income from the position of *croupier* at a gambling-house.

Having said this, we feel that we are unduly finding fault with a book of extraordinary ability. For a picture of Paris under the third Napoleon, there can be little doubt that "The Nabob" will remain unapproached and unapproachable. Every feature of the society of which this court was the centre we have here—the luxury, the waste, the vice, the show, the hollowness. It is painted not from the inside, but from without, by a cold and truthful observer. The book is at once a novel and a sermon. *Vanitas vanitatum!* echoes through its pages with a sad refrain; and, as we see the long procession of notorious characters pass before us to their common doom of bankruptcy, ruin, and suicide, we cannot but feel that the unseen hand that pulls the wires is that of a master who has read the human heart as it is given to few men to read it.

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I.

KIN BEYOND SEA.

It is now nearly half a century since the works of De Tocqueville and De Beaumont, founded upon personal observation, brought the institutions of the United States effectually within the circle of European thought and interest. They were co-operators, but not upon an equal scale. De Beaumont belongs to the class of ordinary though able writers: De Tocqueville was the Burke of his age, and his treatise upon America may well be regarded as among the best books hitherto produced for the political student of all times and countries.

But higher and deeper than the concern of the Old World at large in the thirteen colonies, now grown into thirty-eight States, besides eight Territories, is the special interest of England in their condition and prospects.

I do not speak of political controversies between them and us, which are happily, as I trust, at an end. I do not speak of the vast contribution which from year to year, through the operations of a colossal trade, each makes to the wealth and comfort of the other; nor of the friendly controversy, which in its own place it might be well to raise, between the leanings of America to protectionism, and the more daring reliance of the old country upon free and unrestricted intercourse with all the world; nor

of the menace which, in the prospective development of her resources, America offers to the commercial preëminence of England. On this subject I will only say that it is she alone who, at a coming time, can, and probably will, wrest from us that commercial primacy. We have no title, I have no inclination, to murmur at the prospect. If she acquires it, she will make the acquisition by the right of the strongest; but, in this instance, the strongest means the best. She will probably become what we are now, the head servant in the great household of the world, the employer of all employed, because her service will be the most and ablest. We have no more title against her than Venice, or Genoa, or Holland, has had against us. One great duty is entailed upon us, which we, unfortunately, neglect—the duty of preparing, by a resolute and sturdy effort, to reduce our public burdens, in preparation for a day when we shall probably have less capacity than we have now to bear them.

Passing by all these subjects, with their varied attractions, I come to another, which lies within the tranquil domain of political philosophy. The students of the future, in this department, will have much to say in the way of comparison between American and British institutions. The relationship between these two is unique in history. It is always interesting to trace and to compare constitutions, as it is to compare languages; especially in such instances as those of the Greek states and the Italian republics, or the diversified forms of the feudal system in the different countries of Europe. But there is no parallel in all the records of the world to the case of that prolific British mother who has sent forth her innumerable children over all the earth, to be the founders of half a dozen empires. She, with her progeny, may almost claim to constitute a kind of universal church in politics. But, among these children, there is one whose place in the world's eye and in history is superlative: it is the American Republic. She is the eldest born. She has, taking the capacity of her land into view as well as its mere measurement, a natural base for the greatest continuous empire ever established by man. And it may be well here to mention, what has not always been sufficiently observed, that the distinction between continuous empire, and empire severed and dispersed over sea, is vital. The development which the republic has effected has been unex-

ampled in its rapidity and force. While other countries have doubled, or at most trebled, their population, she has risen, during one single century of freedom, in round numbers, from two millions to forty-five. As to riches, it is reasonable to establish, from the decennial stages of the progress thus far achieved, a series for the future; and, reckoning upon this basis, I suppose that the very next census, in the year 1880, will exhibit her to the world as certainly the wealthiest of all the nations. The huge figure of £1,000,000,000, which may be taken roundly as the annual income of the United Kingdom, has been reached at a surprising rate; a rate which may perhaps be best expressed by saying that, if we had started forty or fifty years ago from zero, at the rate of our recent annual increment, we should now have reached our present position. But while we have been advancing with this portentous rapidity, America is passing us by in a canter. Yet even now the work of searching the soil and the bowels of the territory, and opening out her enterprise throughout its vast expanse, is in its infancy. The England and the America of the present are probably the two strongest nations of the world. But there can hardly be a doubt, as between the America and the England of the future, that the daughter, at some no very distant time, will, whether fairer or less fair, be unquestionably yet stronger than the mother.

"O matre forti filia fortior."*

But all this pompous detail of material triumphs, whether for the one or for the other, is worse than idle, unless the men of the two countries shall remain, or shall become, greater than the mere things that they produce, and shall know how to regard those things simply as tools and materials for the attainments of the highest purposes of their being. Ascending, then, from the ground-floor of material industry toward the regions in which these purposes are to be wrought out, it is for each nation to consider how far its institutions have reached a state in which they can contribute their maximum to the store of human happiness and excellence. And for the political student all over the world it will be beyond anything curious as well as useful to examine with what diversities, as well as what resemblances, of apparatus

* Altered from Hor., Od. I., 16.

the two greater branches of a race born to command have been minded, or induced, or constrained, to work out, in their sea-severed seats, their political destinies according to their respective laws.

No higher ambition can find vent in a paper such as this than to suggest the position and claims of the subject, and slightly to indicate a few outlines, or at least fragments, of the working material.

In many and the most fundamental respects the two still carry in undiminished, perhaps in increasing, clearness the notes of resemblance that beseem a parent and a child.

Both wish for self-government; and, however grave the drawbacks under which in one or both it exists, the two have, among the great nations of the world, made the most effectual advances toward the true aim of rational politics.

They are similarly associated in their fixed idea that the force in which all government takes effect is to be constantly backed, and, as it were, illuminated, by thought in speech and writing. The ruler of St. Paul's time "bare the sword" (Rom. xiii. 4). Bare it, as the apostle says, with a mission to do right; but he says nothing of any duty, or any custom, to show by reason that he was doing right. Our two governments, whatsoever they do, have to give reasons for it; not reasons which will convince the unreasonable, but reasons which on the whole will convince the average mind, and carry it unitedly forward in a course of action, often though not always wise, and bearing within itself provisions, where it is unwise, for the correction of its own unwisdom before it grow to an intolerable rankness. They are governments, not of force only, but of persuasion.

Many more are the concords, and not less vital than these, of the two nations as expressed in their institutions. They alike prefer the practical to the abstract. They tolerate opinion, with only a reserve on behalf of decency; and they desire to confine coercion to the province of action, and to leave thought, as such, entirely free. They set a high value on liberty for its own sake. They desire to give full scope to the principles of self-reliance in the people, and they deem self-help to be immeasurably superior to help in any other form—to be the only help, in short, which ought not to be continually, or periodically, put upon its trial, and

required to make good its title. They mistrust and mislike the centralization of power; and they cherish municipal, local, even parochial liberties, as nursery-grounds, not only for the production here and there of able men, but for the general training of public virtue and independent spirit. They regard publicity as the vital air of politics; through which alone, in its freest circulation, opinions can be thrown into common stock for the good of all, and the balance of relative rights and claims can be habitually and peaceably adjusted. It would be difficult, in the case of any other pair of nations, to present an assemblage of traits at once so common and so distinctive as has been given in this probably imperfect enumeration.

There were, however, the strongest reasons why America could not grow into a reflection or repetition of England. Passing from a narrow island to a continent almost without bounds, the colonists at once and vitally altered their conditions of thought, as well as of existence, in relation to the most important and most operative of all social facts, the possession of the soil. In England, inequality lies imbedded in the very base of the social structure; in America, it is a late, incidental, unrecognized product, not of tradition, but of industry and wealth, as they advance with various and, of necessity, unequal steps. Heredity, seated as an idea in the heart's core of Englishmen, and sustaining far more than it is sustained by those of our institutions which express it, was as truly absent from the intellectual and moral store with which the colonists traversed the Atlantic as if it had been some forgotten article in the bills of lading that made up their cargoes. Equality combined with liberty, and renewable at each descent from one generation to another, like a lease with stipulated breaks, was the groundwork of their social creed. In vain was it sought, by arrangements such as those concocted with the name of Baltimore or of Penn, to qualify the action of those overpowering forces which so determined the case. Slavery itself, strange as it now must seem, failed to impair the theory, however it may have imported into the practice a hideous solecism. No hardier republicanism was generated in New England than in the slave States of the South, which produced so many of the great statesmen of America.

It may be said that the North, and not the South, had the

larger number of colonists, and was the centre of those commanding moral influences which gave to the country as a whole its political and moral atmosphere. The type and form of manhood for America was supplied neither by the Recusant in Maryland, nor by the Cavalier in Virginia, but by the Puritan of New England; and it would have been a form and type widely different, could the colonization have taken place a couple of centuries, or a single century, sooner. Neither the Tudor nor even the Plantagenet period could have supplied its special form. The Reformation was a cardinal factor in its production; and this in more ways than one.

Before that great epoch, the political forces of the country were represented on the whole by the monarch on one side, and the people on the other. In the people, setting aside the latent vein of Lollardism, there was a general homogeneity with respect to all that concerned the relation of governors and governed. In the deposition of sovereigns, the resistance to abuses, the establishment of institutions for the defense of liberty, there were no two parties to divide the land. But, with the Reformation, a new dualism was sensibly developed among us. Not a dualism so violent as to break up the national unity, but yet one so marked and substantial that thenceforward it was very difficult for any individual or body of men to represent the entire English character, and the old balance of its forces. The wrench which severed the Church and people from the Roman obedience left for domestic settlement thereafter a tremendous internal question, between the historical and the new, which in its milder forms perplexes us to this day. Except during the short reign of Edward VI., the civil power, in various methods and degrees, took what may be termed the traditionary side, and favored the development of the historical more than the individual aspect of the national religion. These elements confronted one another during the reigns of the earlier Stuarts, not only with obstinacy but with fierceness. There had grown up with the Tudors, from a variety of causes, a great exaggeration of the idea of royal power; and this arrived, under James I. and Charles I., at a rank maturity. Not less but even more masculine and determined was the converse development. Mr. Hallam saw, and has said, that at the outbreak of the Great Rebellion the old British Constitution was in danger, not from

one party but from both. In that mixed fabric had once been harmonized the ideas both of religious duty and of allegiance as related to it, which were now held in severance. The hardiest and dominating portion of the American colonists represented that severance in its extremest form, and had dropped out of the order of the ideas, which they carried across the water, all those elements of political Anglicism which give to aristocracy in this country a position only second in strength to that of freedom. State and Church alike had frowned upon them; and their strong reaction was a reaction of their entire nature, alike of the spiritual and the secular man. All that was democratic in the policy of England, and all that was Protestant in her religion, they carried with them, in pronounced and exclusive forms, to a soil and a scene singularly suited for their growth.

It is to the honor of the British monarchy that, upon the whole, it frankly recognized the facts, and did not pedantically endeavor to constrain by artificial and alien limitations the growth of the infant states. It is a thing to be remembered that the accusations of the colonies in 1776 were entirely leveled at the reigning king, and that a true acquittal was thus given by them to every preceding reign. Their infancy had been upon the whole what their manhood was to be, self-governed and republican. Their Revolution, as we call it, was like ours in the main, a vindication of liberties inherited and possessed. It was a conservative revolution; and the happy result was that, notwithstanding the sharpness of the collision with the mother-country and with domestic loyalism, the thirteen colonies made provision for their future in conformity, as to all that determined life and manners, with the recollections of their past. The two constitutions of the two countries express indeed rather the differences than the resemblances of the nations. The one is a thing grown, the other a thing made: the one a *praxis*, the other a *poiesis:* the one the offspring of tendency and indeterminate time, the other of choice and of an epoch. But, as the British Constitution is the most subtile organism which has proceeded from the womb and the long gestation of progressive history, so the American Constitution is, so far as I can see, the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man. It has had a century of trial, under the pressure of exigencies caused

by an expansion unexampled in point of rapidity and range; and its exemption from formal change, though not entire, has certainly proved the sagacity of the constructors, and the stubborn strength of the fabric.

One whose life has been greatly absorbed in working, with others, the institutions of his own country, has not had the opportunities necessary for the careful and searching scrutiny of institutions elsewhere. I should feel, in looking at those of America, like one who attempts to scan the stars with the naked eye. My notices can only be few, faint, and superficial; they are but an introduction to what I have to say of my own country. A few sentences will dispose of them.

America, whose attitude toward England has always been masculine and real, has no longer to anticipate at our hands the frivolous and offensive criticisms which were once in vogue among us. But neither nation prefers (and it would be an ill sign if either did prefer) the institutions of the other; and we certainly do not contemplate the great Republic in the spirit of mere optimism. We see that it has a marvelous and unexampled adaptation for its peculiar vocation; that it must be judged, not in the abstract, but under the fore-ordered laws of its existence; that it has purged away the blot with which we brought it into the world; that it bravely and vigorously grapples with the problem of making a continent into a state; and that it treasures with fondness the traditions of British antiquity, which are in truth unconditionally its own, as well, and as much, as they are ours. The thing that perhaps chiefly puzzles the inhabitants of the old country is, why the American people should permit their entire existence to be continually disturbed by the business of the presidential elections; and, still more, why they should raise to its maximum the intensity of this perturbation by providing, as we are told, for what is termed a clean sweep of the entire civil service, in all its ranks and departments, on each accession of a Chief Magistrate. We do not perceive why this arrangement is more rational than would be a corresponding usage in this country on each change of ministry. Our practice is as different as possible. We limit to a few scores of persons the removals and appointments on these occasions; although our ministries seem to us, not unfrequently, to be more sharply severed from one another,

in principle and tendency, than are the successive Presidents of the great Union.

It would be out of place to discuss in this article occasional phenomena of local corruption in the United States, by which the nation at large can hardly be touched; or the mysterious manipulations of votes for the presidency, which are now understood to be under examination; or the very curious influences which are shaping the politics of the negroes and of the South. These last are corollaries to the great slave-question; and it seems very possible that after a few years we may see most of the laborers, both in the Southern States and in England, actively addicted to the political support of that section of their countrymen who to the last had resisted their emancipation.

But if there be those in this country who think that American democracy means public levity and intemperance, or a lack of skill and sagacity in politics, or the absence of self-command and self-denial, let them bear in mind a few of the most salient and recent facts of history, which may profitably be recommended to their reflections. We emancipated a million of negroes by peaceful legislation; America liberated four or five millions by a bloody civil war; yet the industry and exports of the Southern States are maintained, while those of our negro colonies have dwindled; the South enjoys all its franchises, but we have, *proh pudor!* found no better method of providing for peace and order in Jamaica, the chief of our islands, than by the hard and vulgar, even where needful, expedient of abolishing entirely its representative institutions.

The civil war compelled the States, both North and South, to train and embody a million and a half of men, and to present to view the greatest, instead of the smallest, armed forces in the world. Here there was supposed to arise a double danger. First, that, on a sudden cessation of the war, military life and habits could not be shaken off, and, having become rudely and widely predominant, would bias the country toward an aggressive policy, or, still worse, would find vent in predatory or revolutionary operations. Secondly, that a military caste would grow up, with its habits of exclusiveness and command, and would influence the tone of politics in a direction adverse to republican freedom. But both apprehensions proved to be wholly imaginary. The imm-

merable soldiery was at once dissolved. Cincinnatus, no longer a unique example, became the commonplace of every day, the type and mould of a nation. The whole enormous mass quietly resumed the habits of social life. The generals of yesterday were the editors, the secretaries, and the solicitors, of to-day. The just jealousy of the state gave life to the now-forgotten maxim of Judge Blackstone, who denounced as perilous the erection of a separate profession of arms in a free country. The standing army, expanded by the heat of civil contest to gigantic dimensions, settled down again into the framework of a miniature with the returning temperature of civil life, and became a power wellnigh invisible, from its minuteness, amid the powers which sway the movements of a society exceeding forty millions.

More remarkable still was the financial sequel to the great conflict. The internal taxation for Federal purposes, which before its commencement had been unknown, was raised, in obedience to an exigency of life and death, so as to exceed every present and every past example. It pursued and worried all the transactions of life. The interest of the American debt grew to be the highest in the world, and the capital touched £560,000,000. Here was provided for the faith and patience of the people a touchstone of extreme severity. In England, at the close of the great French war, the propertied classes, who were supreme in Parliament, at once rebelled against the Tory Government, and refused to prolong the income-tax even for a single year. We talked big, both then and now, about the payment of our national debt; but sixty-three years have now elapsed, all of them except two called years of peace, and we have reduced the huge total by about one-ninth; that is to say, by little over £100,000,000, or scarcely more than £1,500,000 a year. This is the conduct of a state elaborately digested into orders and degrees, famed for wisdom and forethought, and consolidated by a long experience. But America continued long to bear, on her unaccustomed and still smarting shoulders, the burden of the war taxation. In twelve years she has reduced her debt by £158,000,000, or at the rate of £13,000,000 for every year. In each twelve months she has done what we did in eight years; her self-command, self-denial, and wise forethought for the future have been, to say the least, eightfold ours. These are facts which redound greatly to her honor; and the his-

torian will record with surprise that an enfranchised nation tolerated burdens which in this country a selected class, possessed of the representation, did not dare to face, and that the most unmitigated democracy known to the annals of the world resolutely reduced at its own cost prospective liabilities of the state, which the aristocratic, and plutocratic, and monarchical Government of the United Kingdom has been contented ignobly to hand over to posterity. And such facts should be told out. It is our fashion so to tell them, against as well as for ourselves; and the record of them may some day be among the means of stirring us up to a policy more worthy of the name and fame of England.

It is true, indeed, that we lie under some heavy and, I fear, increasing disadvantages, which amount almost to disabilities. Not, however, any disadvantage respecting power, as power is commonly understood. But, while America has a nearly homogeneous country, and an admirable division of political labor between the States individually and the Federal Government, we are, in public affairs, an overcharged and overweighted people. We have undertaken the cares of empire upon a scale, and with a diversity, unexampled in history; and, as it has not yet pleased Providence to endow us with brain-force and animal strength in an equally abnormal proportion, the consequence is that we perform the work of government, as to many among its more important departments, in a very superficial and slovenly manner. The affairs of the three associated kingdoms, with their great diversities of law, interest, and circumstance, make the government of them, even if they stood alone, a business more voluminous, so to speak, than that of any other 33,000,000 civilized men. To lighten the cares of the central Legislature by judicious devolution, it is probable that much might be done; but nothing is done, or even attempted to be done. The greater colonies have happily attained to a virtual self-government; yet the aggregate mass of business connected with our colonial possessions continues to be very large. The Indian Empire is of itself a charge so vast, and demanding so much thought and care, that, if it were the sole transmarine appendage to the crown, it would amply tax the best ordinary stock of human energies. Notoriously, it obtains from the Parliament only a small fraction of the attention it deserves. Questions affecting individuals, again, or small

interests, or classes, excite here a greater interest, and occupy a larger share of time, than perhaps in any other community. In no country, I may add, are the interests of persons or classes so favored when they compete with those of the public; and in none are they more exacting, or more wakeful to turn this advantage to the best account. With the vast extension of our enterprise and our trade comes a breadth of liability not less large, to consider everything that is critical in the affairs of foreign states; and the real responsibilities, thus existing for us, are unnaturally inflated by fast-growing tendencies toward exaggeration of our concern in these matters, and even toward setting up fictitious interests in cases where none can discern them except ourselves, and such Continental friends as practise upon our credulity and our fears for purposes of their own. Last of all, it is not to be denied that in what I have now been saying I do not represent the public sentiment. The nation is not at all conscious of being overdone. The people see that their House of Commons is the hardest working legislative assembly in the world; and, this being so, they assume it is all right. Nothing pays better, in point of popularity, than those gratuitous additions to obligations already beyond human strength, which look like accessions or assertion of power; such as the annexation of new territory, or the silly transaction known as the purchase of shares in the Suez Canal.

All my life long I have seen this excess of work as compared with the power to do it; but the evil has increased with the surfeit of wealth, and there is no sign that the increase is near its end. The people of this country are a very strong people; but there is no strength that can permanently endure, without provoking inconvenient consequences, this kind of political debauch. It may be hoped, but it cannot be predicted, that the mischief will be encountered and subdued at the point where it will have become sensibly troublesome, but will not have grown to be irremediable.

The main and central point of interest, however, in the institutions of a country is the manner in which it draws together and compounds the public forces in the balanced action of the state. It seems plain that the formal arrangements for this purpose in America are very different from ours. It may even be a

question whether they are not, in certain respects, less popular; whether our institutions do not give more rapid effect than those of the Union, to any formed opinion, and resolved intention, of the nation.

In the formation of the Federal Government we seem to perceive three stages of distinct advancement: 1. The formation of the Confederation, under the pressure of the War of Independence. 2. The Constitution, which placed the Federal Government in defined and direct relation with the people inhabiting the several States. 3. The struggle with the South, which for the first time, and definitely, decided that to the Union, through its Federal organization, and not to the State governments, were reserved all the questions not decided and disposed of by the express provisions of the Constitution itself. The great *arcanum imperii*, which with us belongs to the three branches of the Legislature, and which is expressed by the current phrase, "omnipotence of Parliament," thus became the acknowledged property of the three branches of the Federal Legislature; and the old and respectable doctrine of State independence is now no more than an archæological relic, a piece of historical antiquarianism. Yet the actual attributions of the State authorities cover by far the largest part of the province of government; and, by this division of labor and authority, the problem of fixing for the nation a political centre of gravity is divested of a large part of its difficulty and danger, in some proportion to the limitations of the working precinct. Within that precinct the initiation, as well as the final sanction in the great business of finance, is made over to the popular branch of the Legislature, and a most interesting question arises upon the comparative merits of this arrangement, and of our own method, which theoretically throws upon the crown the responsibility of initiating public charge, and under which, until a recent period, our practice was in actual, and even close, correspondence with this theory. We next come to a difference still more marked. The Federal Executive is born anew of the nation at the end of each four years, and dies at the end. But, during the course of those years, it is independent, in the person both of the President and of his ministers, alike of the people, of their representatives, and of that remarkable body, the most remarkable of all the inventions of modern politics, the

Senate of the United States. In this important matter, whatever be the relative excellences and defects of the British and American systems, it is most certain that nothing would induce the people of this country, or even the Tory portion of them, to exchange our own for theirs.

It may, indeed, not be obvious to the foreign eye what is the exact difference of the two. Both the representative Chambers hold the power of the purse. But in America its conditions are such that it does not operate in any way on behalf of the Chamber or of the nation, as against the Executive. In England, on the contrary, its efficiency has been such that it has worked out for itself channels of effective operation, such as to dispense with its direct use, and avoid the inconveniences which might be attendant upon that use. A vote of the House of Commons, declaring a withdrawal of its confidence, has always sufficed for the purpose of displacing a ministry; nay, persistent obstruction of its measures, and even lighter causes, have conveyed the hint, which has been obediently taken. But the people, how is it with them? Do not they in England part with their power, and make it over to the House of Commons, as completely as the American people part with it to the President? They give it over for four years; we for a period which on the average is somewhat more: they, to resume it at a fixed time; we, on an unfixed contingency, and at a time which will finally be determined, not according to the popular will, but according to the views which a ministry may entertain of its duty or convenience.

All this is true; but it is not the whole truth. In the United Kingdom, the people as such cannot commonly act upon the ministry as such. But mediately, though not immediately, they gain the end: for they can work upon that which works upon the ministry, namely, on the House of Commons. Firstly, they have not renounced, like the American people, the exercise of their power for a given time; and they are at all times free by speech, petition, public meeting, to endeavor to get it back in full by bringing about a dissolution. Secondly, in a Parliament with nearly 660 members, vacancies occur with tolerable frequency; and, as they are commonly filled up forthwith, they continually modify the color of the Parliament, conformably, not to the past, but to the present feeling of the nation; or, at least, of the con-

stituency, which for practical purposes is different indeed, yet not very different. But, besides exercising a limited positive influence on the present, they supply a much less limited indication of the future. Of the members who at a given time sit in the House of Commons, the vast majority, probably more than nine-tenths, have the desire to sit there again, after a dissolution which may come at any moment. They therefore study political weather-wisdom, and in varying degrees adapt themselves to the indications of the sky. It will now be readily perceived how the popular sentiment in England, so far as it is awake, is not meanly provided with the ways of making itself respected, whether for the purpose of displacing and replacing a ministry, or of constraining it (as sometimes happens) to alter or reverse its policy, sufficiently, at least, to conjure down the gathering and muttering storm.

It is true, indeed, that every nation is of necessity, to a great extent, in the condition of the sluggard with regard to public policy; hard to rouse, harder to keep aroused, sure after a little while to sink back into his slumber. They have a vast but an encumbered power; and, in their struggles with overweening authority, or with property, the excess of force, which they undoubtedly possess, is more than counterbalanced by the constant wakefulness of the adversary, by his knowledge of their weakness, and by his command of opportunity. But this is a fault lying rather in the conditions of human life, than in political institutions. There is no known mode of making attention and inattention equal in their results. It is enough to say that in England, when the nation can attend, it can prevail. So we may say, then, that in the American Union the Federal Executive is independent for each four years both of the Congress and of the people. But the British ministry is largely dependent on the people whenever the people firmly will it; and is always dependent on the House of Commons, except when it can safely and effectually appeal to the people.

So far, so good. But if we wish really to understand the manner in which the queen's Government over the British Empire is carried on, we must now prepare to examine into sharper contrasts than any which our path has yet brought into view. The power of the American Executive resides in the person of

the actual President, and passes from him to his successor. His ministers, grouped around him, are the servants, not only of his office, but of his mind. The intelligence which carries on the Government has its main seat in him. The responsibility of failures is understood to fall on him; and it is round his head that success sheds its halo. The American Government is described truly as a government composed of three members, of three powers distinct from one another. The English Government is likewise so described, not truly, but conventionally. For in the English Government there has gradually formed itself a fourth power, entering into and sharing the vitality of each of the other three, and charged with the business of holding them in harmony as they march.

This fourth power is the ministry, or more properly the cabinet. For the rest of the ministry is subordinate and ancillary; and, though it largely shares in many departments the labors of the cabinet, yet it has only a secondary and derivative share in the higher responsibilities. No account of the present British Constitution is worth having, which does not take this fourth power largely and carefully into view. And yet it is not a distinct power, made up of elements unknown to the other three; any more than a sphere contains elements other than those referable to the three coördinates which determine the position of every point in space. The fourth power is parasitical to the three others; and lives upon their life, without any separate existence. One portion of it forms a part, which may be termed an integral part, of the House of Lords, another of the House of Commons; and the two conjointly, nestling within the precinct of royalty, form the inner council of the crown, assuming the whole of its responsibilities, and in consequence wielding, as a rule, its powers. The cabinet is the threefold hinge that connects together for action the British Constitution of king or queen, Lords, and Commons. Upon it is concentrated the whole strain of the Government, and it constitutes from day to day the true centre of gravity for the working system of the state, although the ultimate superiority of force resides in the representative Chamber.

There is no statute or legal usage of this country which requires that the ministers of the crown should hold seats in the

one or the other House of Parliament. It is, perhaps, upon this account that, while most of my countrymen would, as I suppose, declare it to be a becoming and convenient custom, yet comparatively few are aware how near the seat of life the observance lies, how closely it is connected with the equipoise and unity of the social forces. It is rarely departed from, even in an individual case; never, as far as my knowledge goes, on a wider scale. From accidental circumstances it happened that I was a Secretary of State between December, 1845, and July, 1846, without a seat in the House of Commons. This (which did not pass wholly without challenge) is, I believe, by much the most notable instance for the last fifty years; and it is only within the last fifty years that our constitutional system has completely settled down. Before the reform of Parliament it was always easy to find a place for a minister excluded from his seat; as Sir Robert Peel, for example, ejected from Oxford University, at once found refuge and repose in Tamworth. I desire to fix attention on the identification, in this country, of the minister and the member of a House of Parliament. It is, as to the House of Commons especially, an inseparable and vital part of our system. The association of the ministers with the Parliament, and through the House of Commons with the people, is the counterpart to their association as ministers with the crown and the prerogative. The decisions that they take are taken under the competing pressure of a bias this way and a bias that way, and strictly represent what is termed in mechanics the composition of forces. Upon them, thus placed, it devolves to provide that the Houses of Parliament shall loyally counsel and serve the crown, and that the crown shall act strictly in accordance with its obligations to the nation. I will not presume to say whether the adoption of the rule in America would or would not lay the foundation of a great change in the Federal Constitution; but I am quite sure that the abrogation of it in England would either alter the form of government, or bring about a crisis. That it conduces to the personal comfort of ministers I will not undertake to say. The various currents of political and social influences meet edgewise in their persons, much like the conflicting tides in St. George's Channel or the Straits of Dover; for while they are the ultimate regulators of the relations between the crown on the one side, and the

people through the Houses of Parliament on the other, they have no authority vested in them to coerce or censure either way. Their attitude toward the Houses must always be that of deference, their language that of respect, if not submission. Still more must their attitude and language toward the sovereign be the same in principle, and yet more marked in form, and this, though upon them lies the ultimate responsibility of deciding what shall be done in the crown's name in every branch of administration, and every department of policy, coupled only with the alternative of ceasing to be ministers, if what they may advisedly deem the requisite power of action be denied them.

In the ordinary administration of the government the sovereign personally is, so to speak, behind the scenes; performing, indeed, many personal acts by the sign-manual, or otherwise; but, in each and all of them, covered by the counter-signature or advice of ministers who stand between the august personage and the people. There is, accordingly, no more power, under the form of our Constitution, to assail the monarch in his personal capacity, or to assail through him the line of succession to the crown, than there is at chess to put the king in check. In truth, a good deal, though by no means the whole, of the philosophy of the British Constitution is represented in this central point of the wonderful game, against which the only reproach—the reproach of Lord Bacon—is that it is hardly a relaxation, but rather a serious tax upon the brain.

The sovereign in England is the symbol of the nation's unity, and the apex of the social structure; the maker (with advice) of the laws; the supreme governor of the Church; the fountain of justice; the sole source of honor; the person to whom all military, all naval, all civil service is rendered. The sovereign owns very large properties; receives and holds, in law, the entire revenue of the state; appoints and dismisses ministers; makes treaties; pardons crime, or abates its punishment; wages war, or concludes peace; summons and dissolves the Parliament; exercises these vast powers for the most part without any specified restraint of law; and yet enjoys, in regard to these and every other function, an absolute immunity from consequences. There is no provision in the law of the United Empire, or in the machinery of the Constitution, for calling the sovereign to account;

and only in one solitary and improbable but perfectly defined case—that of his submitting to the jurisdiction of the pope—is he deprived by statute of the throne. Setting aside that peculiar exception, the offspring of a necessity still freshly felt when it was made, the Constitution might seem to be founded on the belief of a real infallibility in its head. Less, at any rate, cannot be said than this. Regal right has, since the Revolution of 1688, been expressly founded upon contract; and the breach of that contract destroys the title to the allegiance of the subject. But no provision, other than the general rule of hereditary succession, is made to meet either this case or any other form of political miscarriage or misdeed. It seems as though the genius of the nation would not stain its lips by so much as the mere utterance of such a word; nor can we put this state of facts into language more justly than by saying that the Constitution would regard the default of the monarch with his heirs as the chaos of the state, and would simply trust to the inherent energies of the several orders of society for its legal reconstruction.

The original authorship of the representative system is commonly accorded to the English race. More clear and indisputable is its title to the great political discovery of constitutional kingship. And a very great discovery it is. Whether it is destined, in any future day, to minister in its integrity to the needs of the New World, it may be hard to say. In that important branch of its utility which is negative, it completely serves the purposes of the many strong and rising colonies of Great Britain, and saves them all the perplexities and perils attendant upon successions to the headship of the Executive. It presents to them, as it does to us, the symbol of unity, and the object of all our political veneration, which we love to find rather in a person than in an abstract entity, like the state. But the Old World, at any rate, still is, and may long continue, to constitute the living centre of civilization, and to hold the primacy of the race; and of this great society the several members approximate, in a rapidly-extending series, to the practice and idea of constitutional kingship. The great states of Christendom, with only two exceptions, have, with more or less distinctness adopted it. Many of them, both great and small, have thoroughly assimilated it to their system. The autocracy of Russia, and the Republic of France, each of them congenial to

the present wants of the respective countries, may yet, hereafter, gravitate toward the principle which elsewhere has developed so great an attractive power. Should the current that has prevailed through the last half-century maintain its direction and its strength, another fifty years may see all Europe adhering to the theory and practice of this beneficent institution, and peaceably sailing in the wake of England.

No doubt, if tried by an ideal standard, it is open to criticism. Aristotle and Plato, nay, Bacon, and perhaps Leibnitz, would have scouted it as a scientific abortion. Some men would draw disparaging comparisons between the mediæval and the modern king. In the person of the first was normally embodied the force paramount over all others in the country, and on him was laid a weight of responsibility and toil so tremendous that his function seems always to border upon the superhuman; that his life commonly wore out before the natural term; and that an indescribable majesty, dignity, and interest, surround him in his misfortunes, nay, almost in his degradation; as, for instance, amid

> "The shrieks of death, through Berkeley's roof that ring—
> Shrieks of an agonizing king."*

For this concentration of power, toil, and liability, milder realities have now been substituted; and ministerial responsibility comes between the monarch and every public trial of necessity, like armor between the flesh and the spear that would seek to pierce it; only this is an armor at once living and impregnable. It may be said by an adverse critic that the constitutional monarch is only a depositary of power, as an armory is a depository of arms; but that those who wield the arms, and those alone, constitute the true governing authority. And no doubt this is so far true, that the scheme aims at associating in the work of government with the head of the state the persons best adapted to meet the wants and wishes of the people, under the condition that the several aspects of supreme power shall be severally allotted; dignity and visible authority shall lie wholly with the wearer of the crown, but labor mainly, and responsibility wholly, with its servants. Hence, without doubt, it follows that, should differ-

* Gray's "Bard."

ences arise, it is the will of those, in whose minds the work of government is elaborated, that in the last resort must prevail. This capital and vital consequence flows out of the principle that the political action of the monarch shall everywhere be mediate, and conditional upon the concurrence of confidential advisers. It is impossible to reconcile any, even the smallest, abatement of this doctrine with the perfect, absolute immunity of the sovereign from consequences. There can be in England no disloyalty more gross, as to its effects, than the superstition which affects to assign to the sovereign a separate, and, so far as separate, transcendental, sphere of political action. Anonymous servility has, indeed, in these last days, hinted such a doctrine;* but it is no more practicable to make it thrive in England than to rear the jungles of Bengal on Salisbury Plain.

There is, indeed, one great and critical act, the responsibility for which falls momentarily or provisionally on the sovereign: it is the dismissal of an existing ministry, and the appointment of a new one. This act is usually performed with the aid drawn from authentic manifestations of public opinion, mostly such as are obtained through the votes or conduct of the House of Commons. Since the reign of George III. there has been but one change of ministry in which the monarch acted without the support of these indications. It was when William IV., in 1834, dismissed the government of Lord Melbourne, which was known to be supported, though after a lukewarm fashion, by a large majority of the existing House of Commons. But the royal responsibility was, according to the doctrine of our Constitution, completely taken over, *ex post facto*, by Sir Robert Peel, as the person who consented, on the call of the king, to take Lord Melbourne's office. Thus, though the act was rash, and hard to justify, the doctrine of personal immunity was in no way endangered. And here we may notice that in theory an absolute personal immunity implies a correlative limitation of power, greater than is always found in practice. It can hardly be said that the king's initiative left to Sir Robert Peel a freedom perfectly unimpaired. And most certainly it was a very real exercise of personal power. The power did not suffice for its end, which was to overset the Liberal predominance; but it very

* *Quarterly Review*, April, 1878, Article I.

nearly sufficed. Unconditionally entitled to dismiss the ministers, the sovereign can, of course, choose his own opportunity. He may defy the Parliament, if he can count upon the people. William IV., in the year 1834, had neither Parliament nor people with him. His act was within the limits of the Constitution, for it was covered by the responsibility of the acceding ministry. But it reduced the Liberal majority from a number certainly beyond three hundred to about thirty; and it constituted an exceptional but very real and large action on the politics of the country, by the direct will of the king. I speak of the immediate effects. Its eventual result may have been different; for it converted a large, disjointed mass into a smaller but organized and sufficient force, which held the fortress of power for the six years 1835–'41. If the royal intervention anticipated and averted decay from natural causes, then, with all its immediate success, it defeated its own real aim.

But this power of dismissing a ministry at will, large as it may be under given circumstances, is neither the safest nor the only power which, in the ordinary course of things, falls constitutionally to the personal share of the wearer of the crown. He is entitled, on all subjects coming before the ministry, to knowledge and opportunities of discussion, unlimited save by the iron necessities of business. Though decisions must ultimately conform to the sense of those who are to be responsible for them, yet their business is to inform and persuade the sovereign, not to overrule him. Were it possible for him, within the limits of human time and strength, to enter actively into all public transactions, he would be fully entitled to do so. What is actually submitted is supposed to be the most fruitful and important part, the cream of affairs. In the discussion of them the monarch has more than one advantage over his advisers. He is permanent, they are fugitive; he speaks from the vantage-ground of a station unapproachably higher; he takes a calm and leisurely survey, while they are worried with the preparatory stages, and their force is often impaired by the pressure of countless detail. He may be, therefore, a weighty factor in all deliberations of state. Every discovery of a blot, that the studies of the sovereign in the domain of business enable him to make, strengthens his hands and enhances his authority. It is plain, then, that there is abundant

scope for mental activity to be at work under the gorgeous robes of royalty.

This power takes spontaneously the form of influence, and the amount of it depends on a variety of circumstances — on talent, experience, tact, weight of character, steady, untiring industry, and habitual presence at the seat of government. In proportion as any of these might fail, the real and legitimate influence of the monarch over the course of affairs would diminish; in proportion as they attain to fuller action, it would increase. It is a moral, not a coercive influence. It operates through the will and reason of the ministry, not over or against them. It would be an evil and a perilous day for the monarchy were any prospective possessor of the crown to assume or claim for himself final, or preponderating, or even independent power, in any one department of the state. The ideas and practice of the time of George III., whose will in certain matters limited the action of the ministers, cannot be revived, otherwise than by what would be, on their part, nothing less than a base compliance, a shameful subserviency, dangerous to the public weal, and, in the highest degree, disloyal to the dynasty. Because, in every free state, for every public act, some one must be responsible; and the question is, "Who shall it be?" The British Constitution answers, "The minister, and the minister exclusively." That he may be responsible, all action must be fully shared by him. Sole action, for the sovereign, would mean undefended, unprotected action; the armor of irresponsibility would not cover the whole body against sword or spear; a head would project beyond the awning, and would invite a sunstroke.

The reader, then, will clearly see that there is no distinction more vital to the practice of the British Constitution, or to a right judgment upon it, than the distinction between the sovereign and the crown. The crown has large prerogatives, endless functions essential to the daily action, and even the life, of the state. To place them in the hands of persons who should be mere tools of a royal will, would expose those powers to constant unsupported collision with the living forces of the nation, and to a certain and irremediable crash. They are, therefore, intrusted to men who must be prepared to answer for the use they make of them. This ring of responsible ministerial agency forms a fence around the

person of the sovereign, which has thus far proved impregnable to all assaults. The august personage who from time to time may rest within it, and who may possess the art of turning to the best account the countless resources of the position, is no dumb and senseless idol; but, together with real and very large means of influence upon policy, enjoys the undivided reverence which a great people feels for its head; and is likewise the first and by far the weightiest among the forces which greatly mould, by example and legitimate authority, the manners, nay, the morals, of a powerful aristocracy and a wealthy and highly-trained society. The social influence of a sovereign, even if it stood alone, would be an enormous attribute. The English people are not believers in equality; they do not, with the famous Declaration of July 4, 1776, think it to be a self-evident truth that all men are born equal. They hold rather the reverse of that proposition. At any rate, in practice they are what I may call determined inequalitarians; nay, in some cases, even without knowing it. Their natural tendency, from the very base of British society, and through all its strongly-built gradations, is to look upward; they are not apt to "untune degree." The sovereign is the highest height of the system; is, in that system, like Jupiter among the Roman gods, first without a second:

"Nec vigit quicquam simile aut secundum." *

Not, like Mont Blanc, with rivals in his neighborhood, but like Ararat or Etna, towering alone and unapproachable. The step downward from the king to the second person in the realm is not like that from the second to the third: it is more even than a stride, for it traverses a gulf. It is the wisdom of the British Constitution to lodge the personality of its chief so high that none shall under any circumstances be tempted to vie, or to dream of vying, with it. The office, however, is not confused, though it is associated, with the person; and the elevation of official dignity in the monarch of these realms has now for a testing period worked well in conjunction with the limitation of merely personal power.

In the face of the country the sovereign and the ministers are an absolute unity. The one may concede to the other; but the

* Hor., Od. I., xii., 18.

limit of concessions by the sovereign is at the point where he becomes willing to try the experiment of changing his government; and the limit of concession by the ministers is at the point where they become unwilling to bear what in all circumstances they must bear while they remain ministers, the undivided responsibility of all that is done in the crown's name. But it is not with the sovereign only that the ministry must be welded into identity. It has a relation to sustain to the House of Lords, which need not, however, be one of entire unity, for the House of Lords, though a great power in the state, and able to cause great embarrassment to an administration, is not able by a vote to doom it to capital punishment. Only for fifteen years, out of the last fifty, has the ministry of the day possessed the confidence of the House of Lords. On the confidence of the House of Commons it is immediately and vitally dependent. This confidence it must always possess, either absolutely from identity of political color, or relatively and conditionally. This last case arises when an accidental dislocation of the majority in the Chamber has put the machine for the moment out of gear, and the unsafe experiment of a sort of provisional government is tried; much as the Roman Conclave has sometimes been satisfied with a provisional pope, deemed likely to live for the time necessary to reunite the fractions of the prevailing party.

I have said that the cabinet is essentially the regulator of the relations between king, Lords, and Commons, exercising functionally the powers of the first, and incorporated, in the persons of its members, with the second and the third. It is, therefore, itself a great power. But let no one suppose it is the greatest. In a balance nicely poised a small weight may turn the scale, and the helm that directs the ship is not stronger than the ship. It is a cardinal axiom of the modern British Constitution that the House of Commons is the greatest of the powers of the state. It might, by a base subserviency, fling itself at the feet of a monarch or a minister; it might in a season of exhaustion allow the slow persistence of the Lords, ever eying it as Lancelot was eyed by Modred, to invade its just province by baffling its action at some time propitious for the purpose. But no constitution can anywhere keep either sovereign, or Assembly, or nation, true to its trust and to itself. All that can be done has been done. The

Commons are armed with ample powers of self-defense. If they use their powers properly, they can only be mastered by a recurrence to the people, and the way in which the appeal takes effect is by the choice of another House of Commons more agreeable to the national temper. Thus the sole appeal from the verdict of the House is a rightful appeal to those from whom it received its commission.

This superiority in power among the state forces was in truth established even before the House of Commons became what it now is, representative of the people throughout its entire area. In the early part of the century a large part of its members virtually received their mandate from members of the peerage, or from the crown, or by the direct action of money on a mere handful of individuals, or, as in Scotland, for example, from constituencies whose limited numbers and upper-class sympathies usually shut out popular influences. A real supremacy belonged to the House as a whole; but the forces of which it was compounded were not all derived from the people, and the aristocratic power had found out the secret of asserting itself within the walls of the popular Chamber, in the dress and through the voices of its members. Many persons of gravity and weight saw great danger in a change like the first Reform Act, which left it to the Lords to assert themselves thereafter by an external force, instead of through a share in the internal composition of a body so formidable. But the result proved that they were sufficiently to exercise, through the popular will and choice, the power which they had formerly put in action without its sanction, though within its proper precinct and with its title falsely inscribed.

The House of Commons is superior, and by far superior, in the force of its political attributes, to any other single power in the state. But it is watched; it is criticised; it is hemmed in and about by a multitude of other forces: the force, first of all, of the House of Lords, the force of opinion from day to day, particularly of the highly anti-popular opinion of the leisured men of the metropolis, who, seated close to the scene of action, wield an influence greatly in excess of their just claims; the force of the classes and professions; the just and useful force of the local authorities in their various orders and places. Never

was the great problem more securely solved, which recognizes the necessity of a paramount power in the body politic to enable it to move, but requires for it a depositary such that it shall be safe against invasion, and yet inhibited from aggression.

The old theories of a mixed government, and of the three powers, coming down from the age of Cicero, when set by the side of the living British Constitution, are cold, crude, and insufficient, to a degree that makes them deceptive. There is still lacking an amalgam, a reconciling power, what may be called a clearing-house of political forces, which shall receive into itself everything, and shall balance and adjust everything, and, ascertaining the net result, let it pass on freely for the fulfillment of the purposes of the great social union. Like a stout buffer-spring, it receives all shocks, and within it their opposing elements neutralize one another. This is the function of the British cabinet. It is perhaps the most curious formation in the political world of modern times, not for its dignity, but for its subtilty, its elasticity, and its many-sided diversity of power. It is the complement of the entire system; which appears to want nothing but a thorough loyalty in the persons composing its several parts, with a reasonable intelligence, to insure its bearing, without fatal damage, the wear and tear of ages yet to come.

It has taken more than a couple of centuries to bring the British cabinet to its present accuracy and fullness of development; for the first rudiments of it may perhaps be discerned in the reign of Charles I. Under Charles II. it had fairly started from its embryo; and the name is found in the contemporary diary of Pepys. It was for a long time without a ministerial head; the king was the head. While this arrangement subsisted constitutional government could be but half established. Of the numerous titles of the Revolution of 1688 to respect, not the least remarkable is this, that the great families of the country, and great powers of the state, made no effort, as they might have done, in the hour of its weakness, to aggrandize themselves at the expense of the crown. Nevertheless, for various reasons, and, among them, because of the foreign origin, and absences from time to time, of several sovereigns, the course of events tended to give force to the organs of government actually on the

spot, and thus to consolidate, and also to uplift, this as yet novel creation. So late, however, as the impeachment of Sir Robert Walpole, his friends thought it expedient to urge on his behalf in the House of Lords that he had never presumed to constitute himself a prime-minister.

The breaking down of the great offices of state by throwing them into commission, and last among them of the Lord High Treasurership after the time of Harley, Earl of Oxford, tended, and may probably have been meant, to prevent or retard the formation of a recognized chiefship in the ministry, which even now we have not learned to designate by a true English word, though the use of the imported phrase "premier" is at least as old as the poetry of Burns. Nor can anything be more curiously characteristic of the political genius of the people than the present position of this most important official personage. Departmentally, he is no more than the first named of five persons, by whom jointly the powers of the Lord Treasurership are taken to be exercised; he is not their master, or, otherwise than by mere priority, their head; and he has no special function or prerogative under the formal constitution of the office. He has no official rank, except that of a privy councilor. Eight members of the cabinet, including five Secretaries of State, and several other members of the Government, take official precedence of him. His rights and duties as head of the administration are nowhere recorded. He is almost, if not altogether, unknown to the statute law.

Nor is the position of the body over which he presides less singular than his own. The cabinet wields, with partial exceptions, the powers of the Privy Council, besides having a standing-ground, in relation to the personal will of the sovereign, far beyond what the Privy Council ever held or claimed. Yet it has no connection with the Privy Council, except that every one, on first becoming a member of the cabinet, is, if not belonging to it already, sworn a member of that body. There are other sections of the Privy Council, forming regular committees for education and for trade. But the cabinet has not even this degree of formal sanction to sustain its existence. It lives and acts simply by understanding, without a single line of written law or constitution to determine its relations to the monarch, or to the

Parliament, or to the nation; or the relations of its members to one another, or to their head. It sits in the closest secrecy. There is no record of its proceedings, nor is there any one to hear them, except upon the very rare occasions when some important functionary, for the most part military or legal, is introduced, *pro hâc vice*, for the purpose of giving to it necessary information.

Every one of its members acts in no less than three capacities: as administrator of a department of state; as member of a legislative chamber; and as a confidential adviser of the crown. Two at least of them add to those three characters a fourth; for, in each House of Parliament, it is indispensable that one of the principal ministers should be what is termed its leader. This is an office the most indefinite of all, but not the least important. With very little of defined prerogative, the leader suggests, and in a great degree fixes, the course of all principal matters of business, supervises and keeps in harmony the action of his colleagues, takes the initiative in matters of ceremonial procedure, and advises the House in every difficulty as it arises. The first of these, which would be of but secondary consequence where the Assembly had time enough for all its duties, is of the utmost weight in our overcharged House of Commons, where, notwithstanding all its energy and all its diligence, for one thing of consequence that is done, five or ten are despairingly postponed. The overweight, again, of the House of Commons is apt, other things being equal, to bring its leader inconveniently near in power to a prime-minister, who is a peer. He can play off the House of Commons against his chief; and instances might be cited, though they are happily most rare, when he has served him very ugly tricks.

The nicest of all the adjustments involved in the working of the British Government is that which determines, without formally defining, the internal relations of the cabinet. On the one hand, while each minister is an adviser of the crown, the cabinet is a unity, and none of its members can advise as an individual, without, or in opposition actual or presumed to, his colleagues. On the other hand, the business of the state is a hundred-fold too great in volume to allow of the actual passing of the whole under the view of the collected ministry. It is therefore a prime

office of discretion for each minister to settle what are the departmental acts in which he can presume the concurrence of his colleagues, and in what more delicate, or weighty, or peculiar cases he must positively ascertain it. So much for the relation of each minister to the cabinet; but here we touch the point which involves another relation, perhaps the least known of all, his relation to its head.

The head of the British Government is not a grand-vizier; he has no powers, properly so called, over his colleagues; on the rare occasions when a cabinet determines its course by the votes of its members, his vote counts only as one of theirs. But they are appointed and dismissed by the sovereign on his advice. In a perfectly-organized administration, such for example as was that of Sir Robert Peel in 1841–'46, nothing of great importance is matured, or would even be projected, in any department without his personal cognizance; and any weighty business would commonly go to him before being submitted to the cabinet. He reports to the sovereign its proceedings, and he also has many audiences of the august occupant of the throne. He is bound, in these reports and audiences, not to counterwork the cabinet; not to divide it; not to undermine the position of any of his colleagues in the royal favor. If he departs in any degree from strict adherence to these rules, and uses his great opportunities to increase his own influence, or pursue aims not shared by his colleagues, then, unless he is prepared to advise their dismissal, he not only departs from rule, but commits an act of treachery and baseness. As the cabinet stands between the sovereign and the Parliament, and is bound to be loyal to both, so he stands between his colleagues and the sovereign, and is bound to be loyal to both.

As a rule, the resignation of the first minister, as if removing the bond of cohesion in the cabinet, has the effect of dissolving it. A conspicuous instance of this was furnished by Sir Robert Peel in 1846, when the dissolution of the administration, after it had carried the repeal of the Corn Laws, was understood to be due not so much to a united deliberation and decision as to his initiative. The resignation of any other minister only creates a vacancy. In certain circumstances, the balance of forces may be so delicate and susceptible that a single resignation will break up the Government; but what is the rule in the one case is the rare

exception in the other. The prime-minister has no title to override any one of his colleagues in any one of the departments. So far as he governs them, unless it is done by trick, which is not to be supposed, he governs them by influence only. Upon the whole, nowhere in the wide world does so great a substance cast so small a shadow; nowhere is there a man who has so much power, and so little to show for it in the way of formal title or prerogative.

The slight record that has here been traced may convey but a faint idea of a unique creation. Yet, slight as it is, I believe it tells more than, except in the school of British practice, is elsewhere to be learned of a machine so subtly balanced that it seems as though it were moved by something as delicate and slight as the main-spring of a watch. It has not been the offspring of the thought of man. The cabinet, and all the present relations of the constitutional powers in this country, have grown into their present dimensions, and settled into their present places, not as the fruit of a philosophy, not in the effort to give effect to an abstract principle; but by the silent action of forces, invisible and insensible, the structure has come up into the view of all the world. It is, perhaps, the most conspicuous object on the wide political horizon; but it has thus risen, without noise, like the Temple of Jerusalem.

> "No workman steel, no ponderous hammers rung;
> Like some tall palm the stately fabric sprung."*

When men repeat the proverb which teaches us that "marriages are made in heaven," what they mean is that, in the most fundamental of all social operations, the building up of the family, the issues involved in the nuptial contract lie beyond the best exercise of human thought, and the unseen forces of providential government make good the defect in our imperfect capacity. Even so would it seem to have been in that curious marriage of competing influences and powers, which brings about the composite harmony of the British Constitution. More, it must be admitted, than any other, it leaves open doors which lead into blind alleys; for it presumes, more boldly than any other, the

* "Heberis Palestina."

good sense and good faith of those who work it. If, unhappily, these personages meet together, on the great arena of a nation's fortunes, as jockeys meet upon a race-course, each to urge to the uttermost, as against the others, the power of the animal he rides, or as counsel in a court, each to procure the victory of his client without respect to any other interest or right—then this boasted Constitution of ours is neither more nor less than a heap of absurdities. The undoubted competency of each reaches even to the paralysis or distraction of the rest. The House of Commons is entitled to refuse every shilling of the supplies. That House, and also the House of Lords, is entitled to refuse its assent to every bill presented to it. The crown is entitled to make a thousand peers to-day and as many to-morrow; it may dissolve all and every Parliament before it proceeds to business; may pardon the most atrocious crimes; may declare war against all the world; may conclude treaties involving unlimited responsibilities, and even vast expenditure, without the consent, nay, without the knowledge, of Parliament, and this not merely in support or in development, but in reversal, of policy already known to and sanctioned by the nation. But the assumption is that the depositaries of power will all respect one another; will evince a consciousness that they are working in a common interest for a common end; that they will be possessed together with not less than an average intelligence, of not less than an average sense of equity and of the public interest and rights. When these remarkable expectations fail, then, it must be admitted, the British Constitution will be in danger.

Apart from such contingencies, the offspring only of folly or of crime, this Constitution is peculiarly liable to subtile change. Not only in the long-run, as man changes between youth and age, but also, like the human body, with a quotidian life, a periodical recurrence of ebbing and flowing tides. Its old particles daily run to waste, and give place to new. What is hoped among us is that which has usually been found, that evils will become palpable before they have grown to be intolerable.

There cannot, for example, be much doubt, among careful observers, that the great conservator of liberty in all former times, namely, the confinement of the power of the purse to the

popular Chamber, has been lamentably weakened in its efficiency of late years—weakened in the House of Commons, and weakened by the House of Commons. It might, indeed, be contended that the House of Commons of the present epoch does far more to increase the aggregate of public charge than to reduce it. It might even be a question whether the public would take benefit if the House were either intrusted annually with a great part of the initiative, so as to be really responsible to the people for the spending of their money, or else were excluded from part, at least, of its direct action upon expenditure, intrusting to the executive the application of given sums, which that executive should have no legal power to exceed.

Meantime we of this island are not great political philosophers; and we contend with an earnest, but disproportioned, vehemence about changes which are palpable, such as the extension of the suffrage, or the redistribution of parliamentary seats, neglecting wholly other processes of change which work beneath the surface, and in the dark, but which are even more fertile of great organic results. The modern English character reflects the English Constitution in this, that it abounds in paradox; that it possesses every strength, but holds it tainted with every weakness; that it seems alternately both to rise above, and to fall below, the standards of average humanity; that there is no allegation of praise or blame which, in some one of the aspects of its many-sided formation, it does not deserve; that only in the midst of much default, and much transgression, the people of this United Kingdom either have heretofore established, or will hereafter establish, their title to be reckoned among the children of men for the eldest-born of an imperial race.

In this imperfect survey I have carefully avoided all reference to the politics of the day and to particular topics, recently opened, which may have undergone a great development before these lines appear in print on the other side of the Atlantic. Such reference would, without any countervailing advantage, have lowered the strain of these remarks, and would have complicated with painful considerations a statement essentially impartial and general in its scope.

For the yet weightier reason of incompetency, I have avoided

the topics of chief present interest in America, including that proposal to tamper with the true monetary creed, which the Tempter lately presented to the nation in the Silver Bill. But I will not close this paper without recording my conviction that the great acts, and the great forbearances, which immediately followed the close of the civil war, form a group which will ever be a noble object, in his political retrospect, to the impartial historian; and that, proceeding as they did from the free choice and conviction of the people, and founded as they were on the very principles of which the multitude is supposed to be least tolerant, they have, in doing honor to the United States, also rendered a splendid service to the general cause of popular government throughout the world.

W. E. Gladstone.

July 26, 1878.

II.

TORPEDO WARFARE.

Though the invention of the submarine torpedo dates back to 1775, there is no implement of warfare that has made so little progress, considering its destructive power, or about which there are so many conflicting opinions. It is only since the year 1861 that it has been generally adopted as an engine of war, a tardiness in great measure due to the false sentimentality which, until a recent period, banned the torpedo as an inhuman and unchristian means of destroying an enemy. This sentimentality, it may be remarked, has never prevented Christians from mowing down an enemy with grape-shot and canister, or setting fire to his ships in order to roast as many of their crews as possible; hence it is difficult to see the consistency of such humane scruples.

Among the arguments urged against the introduction of the torpedo was that its use would not foster the bravery and chivalry which have characterized the naval profession, more especially that of Great Britain; and Great Britain, having the most powerful navy of the world, and claiming the title of Mistress of the Seas, did not deem it prudent to encourage a mode of warfare which would tend to place her on an equality with weaker nations. Were it not for this obvious reason, she would no doubt have given particular attention to so effectual a means of destroying an enemy, and would long ago have brought the torpedo to perfection, since, at the date of its invention, she was the leading nation in the mechanical arts, and her inventors would soon have overcome the difficulties which stood in the way of practically using this arm. Now that she sees every nation adopting the torpedo, and her splendid fleet of iron-clads imperiled, she is with characteristic energy making every effort toward the improvement of this most terrible engine of war, and

will doubtless bring it to a greater state of perfection, both for offense and defense, than it has yet attained. As the torpedo has now become a vital necessity to Great Britain, she will lose no time in adapting it to all operations of naval warfare; and as it is generally adopted among the navies of the world, she will provide effectual means of resisting it when sent against her fleets.

Whatever prejudices—sentimental or otherwise—may once have existed against the torpedo, they have all vanished before the necessities of the time. Self-defense is the first consideration with nations as with individuals; and it is now conceded that governments subserve not only their own interests, but those of mankind, by using a weapon that will soonest decide the result of war, and which will most effectually protect their coasts.

On looking back to the War of 1812, when eighteen and twenty-four pounders were the largest guns we possessed, we wonder that nations could ever have relied on such feeble engines, or expected great results from their use. In recent years monster rifled guns have been invented, throwing upward of two thousand pounds' weight of metal, and mounted on huge floating batteries almost impervious to shot and shell. One such vessel might have destroyed all the fleets Nelson ever commanded, and have bid defiance to the works of a Vauban; it would heed the forty-two-pounders of the past about as much as an iceberg would a volley of peas.

There is no human invention that is not susceptible of improvement. This seems to be a law of Nature, by which man's inventive faculties are kept ever on the alert, and nations are advanced in the arts of war as well as of peace.

It may seem a strange thesis to maintain, that the torpedo is a beneficent invention, yet all peace-loving men should approve of it, inasmuch as it tends to preserve peace and to prevent powerful nations from trampling on their weaker neighbors. Nations are not half so apt to go to war to-day as they were a few years ago when the torpedo was considered a doubtful auxiliary, quite as likely to prove disastrous to the operator as to the enemy. We have seen the caution with which England and Russia watched each other during the crisis of the Eastern Question, and the wily game both played. Time was when Britannia would have struck a blow first and treated afterward; but, since her

last great naval wars, which gave her victory at almost every step, new elements have been imported into warfare afloat—elements which, as a rule, meet with no particular favor among naval officers generally.

Space would fail me to describe here the various forms of the torpedo, as it has been successively modified and improved; and all that I can attempt to do within the limits of this article is to note the principal stages of its development.

As far as can be ascertained, to David Bushnell, of Connecticut, belongs the credit of the original invention of the submarine torpedo. A diving-machine, in which a man could reach the bottom of a vessel, and which he could easily manœuvre under water, carried a magazine with its appurtenances, so arranged that it could be cast off from the diving-machine, and ascend till it reached the bottom of a vessel, to which it would attach itself by means of a special contrivance. As the torpedo was arranged to go off by clock-work, time was given the occupant of the diving-machine to get out of the way. The machine, or boat device, was very perfect: the operator could swim so far below the surface that he could approach a vessel at night without fear of discovery, could ascend and descend, and visit any part of a vessel's bottom with certainty and safety. In 1776 Bushnell made an attempt to blow up the Eagle, an English sixty-four-gun ship lying off Governor's Island, in the harbor of New York. After procuring, with great difficulty, a suitable operator, he sent his machine under the ship's bottom at night, but the operator, not being skilled in the management of the boat, became confused, and in endeavoring to change his position to a part of the hull more suitable for his work, missed the ship, and had to come to the surface at some distance from her, and day breaking he was obliged to abandon the attempt. As it was blowing fresh at the time, the operator cast adrift the magazine to facilitate his escape, and, at the end of an hour—the time for which the clock was regulated—the torpedo exploded with force sufficient to have blown the Eagle to atoms had it been under her bottom. Bushnell made another attempt in 1777, from a whale-boat against the Cerberus frigate, off New London, endeavoring to throw a machine against the ship's side by means of a line. This machine accidentally came in contact with a schooner lying astern of the

frigate, exploded, demolished the schooner, and threw overboard the only man of her crew who was left alive. Among all of Bushnell's various devices, he does not appear to have invented anything that would follow an enemy's ship at sea. One of his last recorded exploits was his setting adrift, in December, 1777, on the Delaware, a number of kegs filled with powder, for the purpose of annoying the enemy's vessels. Although they did no harm, these infernal machines frightened the soldiers on the wharves at Philadelphia, who opened fire on the intruders. The event gave occasion to the poetical satire of Francis Hopkinson, called "The Battle of the Kegs." Mr. Bushnell was the great torpedo genius of his day, but his contrivances would in our times be considered very primitive affairs, as they bear about the same relation to the torpedoes now in use as the old "Brown Bess" musket does to the Remington rifle.

After these experiments of Bushnell the torpedo seems to have been neglected till, in 1797, Robert Fulton claimed as his invention a machine which would move under water, to a given point, and there explode. Fulton first applied to the French Government, and promised to furnish them with an agent by which they could dispose of their British enemies in all parts of the world. His schemes were considered chimerical, and he met with no encouragement in France until Napoleon attained power, when a commission was ordered to test his machine in 1801. It was a submarine diver, many forms of which have since been tried without much success. With his machine Fulton repeatedly descended to various depths, and moved in any desired direction under water, remaining there for four or five hours at a time. After fitting a torpedo to this machine, his first experiment was on a small ship, to which he attached twenty pounds of powder and blew her into fragments. Fulton's system was, however, merely an improvement on that of Bushnell; and it seems strange that, with his knowledge of steam, he did not apply it for propelling his machine. Had he hit upon some of the simple devices now familiar to all, he might have produced an engine that would have scattered any of the fleets of Europe, and the name of Fulton would have become even more famous than it now is.

The French Government failing to see the practicability of

Fulton's submarine devices, the inventor left in disgust, and, repairing to England in May, 1804, held out to the British ministry the same inducements by which he had endeavored to influence that of France, showing them how they could dispense with their fleets! John Bull, however, had a great partiality for his navy, and delighted in gaining victories at sea. The naval authorities were therefore indisposed to encourage Yankee innovations, but Fulton succeeded in interesting Mr. Pitt, the prime-minister, in his enterprise, and in impressing that statesman with the belief that the torpedo principle, when fully reduced to practice, would do away with all the navies of the world. The first experiments were carried on in presence of Mr. Pitt, Lords Mulgrave, Melville, and Castlereagh, Sir Joseph Banks, Mr. Cavendish, Sir Home Popham, Major Congreve, and Sir John Rennie. On this commission, which was to decide the fate of navies, there was but one naval officer, Admiral Sir Home Popham, which is an evidence that it was constituted on much the same principle as like commissions in this country, viz., that of appointing as judges men the least likely to know anything of the matter in hand. Mr. Pitt was favorably impressed with Fulton's experiments, and so were some others who witnessed them; but Admiral the Earl St. Vincent remarked that it was foolish for Pitt to encourage that gimcrack, for so he was laying the foundation for doing away with the navy on which depended the strength and prestige of Great Britain. The commission acted in accordance with this idea, and adjudged Fulton's plans to be impracticable. Mr. Pitt still adhered to his own opinion, and caused an experiment to be made, on October 15, 1805, on an old Danish brig, which was blown to pieces by one hundred and seventy pounds of powder, a result which could now be effected with twenty pounds of gun-cotton on the end of a pole. Notwithstanding this success Fulton gained no encouragement. England was already mistress of the seas, and looked with little favor on an instrument of warfare which, if successful, would place weaker nations on an equality with her. English authorities, however, saw the importance of Fulton's invention, and, it is said, offered him a large sum of money to suppress it, but he declined.

Fulton returned to New York in 1806, and made propositions to the United States Government, which were accepted, and,

after many unsuccessful efforts, he finally blew up a vessel which had been prepared for the purpose. A midshipman, nowadays, at our torpedo-school in Newport, would consider himself disgraced if he failed to destroy a ship-of-the-line in ten minutes, with less explosive power, especially if the ship lay at anchor and gave him every opportunity to operate upon her. Fulton again petitioned Congress for assistance to develop his invention, and five thousand dollars was in 1810 appropriated for that purpose. He seems never to have doubted his final success, although his numerous failures prevented his most ardent admirers from placing full faith in his promises. In fact, when we consider the crudeness of his ideas, and his repeated mishaps, it seems strange that Fulton's applications should have continued to receive attention. The United States brig Argus was prepared for Fulton's final experiment, which totally failed, for, by order of Commodore Rodgers, the vessel had been so protected with spars and netting, reaching to the bottom, as to be unassailable. Fulton acknowledged himself to have been foiled by the commodore's ingenuity, but argued that "a system then in its infancy, which compelled a hostile vessel to guard herself by such extraordinary means, could not fail of becoming a most important mode of warfare."

Commodore Rodgers's successful effort to baffle Fulton's torpedo caused a strong reaction against the inventor's plans. Fulton became disheartened, and, in a characteristic letter to the Secretary of the Navy, rather intimates a want of fair-play as well as of due consideration for an invention of such importance to a small naval power like that of the United States. He then devoted his attention to the subject of steam-navigation, which has given him so great a reputation. Although Fulton's experiments in torpedoes were not as successful as might have been expected from the talents of the man, yet his efforts were in the right direction, and, had he been liberally patronized, he might have changed the whole face of modern warfare; but naval men seventy years ago, whether in this country or abroad, saw no prospect in the success of Fulton's schemes but the destruction of the service which was their pride and glory, and it is hardly to be wondered at that all plans to destroy ships by other means than the legitimate eighteen-pounder were looked upon with disfavor. So the torpedo slept for many years; but in time it reappeared, in-

vested with such deadly attributes that no nation could afford to disregard its claims as the most destructive implement of naval warfare yet devised.

In a remarkable letter to Joel Barlow, dated "New York, August 22, 1807," Fulton says, after describing his celebrated steam-voyage up the Hudson:

"However, I will not admit that it" (steam-navigation) "is half so important as the torpedo system of defense and attack; for out of this will grow the liberty of the seas—an object of infinite importance to the welfare of America and every civilized country. But thousands of witnesses have now seen the steamboat in rapid movement, and they believe; but they have not seen a ship-of-war destroyed by a torpedo, and they do not believe. We cannot expect people in general to have knowledge of physics or power to reason from cause to effect; but, in case we have war, and the enemy's ships come into our waters, if the Government will give me reasonable means of action, I will soon convince the world that we have surer and cheaper modes of defense than they are aware of."

Fulton must have been zealous indeed for the torpedo when he could consider it of more importance than the invention of the steamboat, that has given quick and cheap transportation to our merchants, has opened up the treasures on the banks of innumerable rivers, has instituted commerce with every portion of the world, and has given us the power, if we knew how to wield it, to establish great lines of ocean-steamers, which would make us at least the equal of any nation on earth.

But we must turn from Fulton and his plans, to consider more modern inventions, which have established the importance of torpedo warfare beyond cavil. During the War of 1812 many attempts were made to blow up the British vessels-of-war by means of improvised torpedoes, powder-vessels, etc., but none of these had much effect on the enemy. The principal result was to cause retaliatory measures on the part of the British, as the latter considered all such methods of making war barbarous, and inconsistent with modern civilization. Besides, these attempts were mostly unauthorized by our Government, and disapproved by the navy, who preferred the more chivalric method of sinking

vessels with eighteen and twenty-four pounders, or mowing down their crews with grape and canister.

In 1829 the torpedo was again revived by Samuel Colt, the inventor of the pistol which bears his name, who commenced his experiments by exploding an iron torpedo by means of galvanism, destroying, at the first trial, the old gunboat Boxer, off the Battery at New York. On the 20th of August, 1842, in presence of the cabinet and citizens of Washington, he utterly destroyed a schooner off Alexandria, Virginia, while stationed five miles from her. Congress was so much impressed with Colt's experiments that they voted him seventeen thousand dollars to perfect his apparatus. Mr. Colt was much abused by the humanitarians of his day, among whom was John Quincy Adams, who denounced him in unmeasured terms for his "dishonest and cowardly system of warfare." Colt and Fulton—that "Guy Fawkes afloat" —were spoken of as men who would discredit the glorious traditions of our navy, and substitute a set of catamarans for the noble frigates that had carried our flag to victory, and were the pride of the nation. Those who object to the torpedo are about as consistent as the Quaker who in battle refused to assist in fighting the guns, but who, when the enemy attempted to board, collared the leader, and pitched him into the sea, saying, "Friend, thee has no business here." Colt's last and most remarkable effort was in blowing up a vessel of five hundred tons, while under sail and going five knots an hour on the Potomac River; but the naval and military authorities discountenanced further proceedings toward the development of Colt's system; and the inventor, having turned over to the Government all his plans and methods of working his galvanic batteries, which seem at this time very simple devices, devoted himself to the more lucrative business of manufacturing the revolver, which has quite revolutionized the system of small-arms then in use. Colt's plan for harbor-defense is somewhat similar to that which is now in use. His torpedoes were arranged in groups, but the present plan of firing is much more simple and efficient.

One of Fulton's ideas was to fire his torpedoes by electricity; but the subject was not so well understood then as now, and he never succeeded in arranging a battery that would insure ignition of the fuses.

The torpedo was not again heard of in active operations until the Crimean War, when the Russians employed these submarine contrivances very extensively in defense of their ports; but they showed little enterprise in using them against their enemies, and far less knowledge of the subject than previous operators had shown. However, the Russians no doubt meant mischief, and this is the first instance we have where the humanitarian principle was wholly disregarded, and the torpedo openly made use of by a nation for offensive and defensive purposes. The arrangements for firing the Russian torpedoes were much superior to anything that had gone before. In their mixtures for fuses, white sugar in certain proportions was found to aid combustion, and by so employing sugar these new humanitarians showed a disposition to make the pill as sweet to their enemies as possible! Admiral Napier, while commander-in-chief in the Baltic, was unmercifully ridiculed for the respect he showed the enemy's torpedoes, though really he only exercised the caution which every good commander should exhibit under the circumstances; but as he did not gratify the British public by having half a dozen of his ships blown up, Russian torpedoes were generally characterized as phantasms, existing only in the admiral's imagination. Admiral Dundas, who relieved Napier, had a practical illustration of the effects of the torpedo. He raised a number of the Russian machines, and found that they would prove formidable obstacles in an attack on Cronstadt. While reconnoitring the forts, two of his vessels came near being destroyed by the explosion of torpedoes. Bulkheads were thrown down, girders and beams broken, ships' sides bulged in, and the contents of the hold mixed together in utter confusion, besides which the vessels were nearly dismasted.

From this time torpedoes began to command the respect of the naval and military authorities of Europe, and to be considered worthy of being numbered among the defensive resources of nations; and humanitarians have ceased to condemn them as more unchristian than shot or shell.

In 1861 a new era in naval warfare was inaugurated. The ingenuity of Ericsson brought forth the famous Monitor, and the energy of the Southern naval officers who had joined the Confederacy rendered the Merrimac almost invincible. These were then the most powerful vessels in the world; and the people of

this country will never forget the peculiar sensation they experienced when it was announced that the huge Merrimac had broken loose, was destroying everything in her track, and threatening to proceed to Washington and hoist the rebel flag on the Capitol. This sudden onset of so terrible an adversary at once induced our Government to devote attention to the subject of torpedoes, which they had so long neglected; and in this they were stimulated by the action of the Confederate naval authorities, who, owing to our superiority in ships, had devoted all their energy and ingenuity to this method of warfare. Being well informed of the number of iron-clads we were building, and seeing the hopelessness of contending against such odds, even by the purchase of ships abroad, the Confederates were forced to adopt new modes of defense. They were aware that our iron ships were practically impenetrable to the most improved artillery, and determined to meet us with a new element of war, which they felt would outweigh the power of any vessels we could bring against it. No matter how strong an iron-clad may be made, or how difficult to penetrate with shot or shell, the bottom of the ship is always a point of weakness, and is actually more vulnerable than that of a wooden vessel, having less elasticity and less resisting power under water. To this part of our vessels, then, the Confederates determined to pay particular attention, with what success will appear in the history of the torpedo warfare which they inaugurated. With such a great extent of sea-coast open to the attack of our cruisers, and with the numerous navigable rivers which traverse the South, the Confederates had extensive facilities for using the torpedo, and a reasonable prospect of success in driving us from their inland waters.

Without entering into details, I will state that, a short time after the design was formed of using the torpedo extensively, a torpedo corps was established by the Confederates, which had exclusive control of this arm of defense. Competent officers who had served in the United States Navy were mostly in command of the parties; and, as far as I can learn, the system was first employed in the channels of approach to Wilmington and Charleston, and later in the harbor of Mobile. Besides their forts, these places were defended by sunken torpedoes, which were protected from any interference by the batteries near at hand. There is no

end to the shapes and characters of these Confederate infernal machines, which are graphically described in the excellent work on "Torpedoes" by Lieutenant-Commander J. S. Barnes, U. S. N.

Most of the Southern seaports fell into our possession with comparative facility; and the difficulty of capturing Charleston, Savannah, Wilmington, and Mobile, was in a measure owing to the fact that the approaches to these places were filled with various kinds of torpedoes, laid in groups, something on the plans of Fulton and Colt, and fired by electricity. The introduction of this means of defense on the side of the Confederates was for a time a severe check to our naval forces, for the commanders of squadrons felt it their duty to be very careful when dealing with an element of warfare of which they knew so little, and the character and disposition of which it was so difficult to discover. In this system of defense, therefore, the enemy found their greatest security; and, notwithstanding all the efforts of Du Pont and Dahlgren, Charleston, Wilmington, and Savannah remained sealed against our naval forces until near the close of the war. Many acts of heroism were performed, and the lives of gallant officers and men sacrificed, to remove these formidable obstructions; but as fast as the infernal machines were taken away by our forces, fresh ones were put in their places, backed by piles and other obstructions, and directly under cover of the enemy's heavy guns. There was never an occasion when the utility of torpedoes was so fully illustrated as during our blockade of these Southern ports. They kept our ships out, and allowed the blockade-runners to pass in with impunity, supplying the enemy with the sinews of war until near the end of the contest, when the last of these strongholds, Fort Fisher, was captured. The Confederates did not use torpedoes at the forts below New Orleans when they were captured by the naval forces, otherwise it might have been a more difficult operation. The wonder is that they were not used, as the place offered many facilities for planting and firing them as our fleet passed up, or floating them down on the ships anchored in the stream below the forts, where for many days they offered fair objects for this kind of enterprise. I am confident that with our present knowledge of the subject no fleet could pass those forts.

When I took command of the Mississippi squadron in 1862,

I was almost immediately called upon to assist the army in the attack on Vicksburg, and heard for the first time that the Yazoo River, where the army under General Sherman intended to disembark, was filled with torpedoes. I at once sent a force in that direction, under Captain Walke, to clear the river of obstructions. The duty was a dangerous one, and officers and men were much exposed while dragging the river, cutting the wires, and bringing the torpedoes ashore. The machines would sometimes explode, but, thanks to careful handling, no material damage was done. Officers and men had already learned to respect those little lumps of iron, which, without warning, could send a whole ship's crew to destruction. All the time our people were at work at this dangerous duty, they were fired upon by sharp-shooters from rifle-pits along the river-banks; but these were finally driven away by grape and canister from the gunboats, which were as obnoxious to the Confederates as their torpedoes were to us. The river had been dragged for a distance of eighteen miles, and there was a fair prospect of removing all the torpedoes without loss, when one exploded under the bow of the iron-clad Cairo, Lieutenant-Commander Selfridge, and in less than three minutes that fine vessel went to the bottom. Fortunately, there was no loss of life, the officers and crew being picked up by surrounding boats. This was a great success for the enemy, for, with a fifty-dollar torpedo, they had succeeded in destroying an iron-clad costing three or four hundred thousand. However, the Yazoo River was for a time completely freed of torpedoes, and General Sherman landed his army at the best point on the river without being molested by the Confederates.

The next accident I had from torpedoes occurred on the same river later in the war. Lieutenant-Commander J. G. Walker had been sent in the iron-clad Baron de Kalb, a sister vessel to the Cairo, to destroy the enemy's navy-yard at Yazoo City. When our force arrived off the town, the enemy's troops opened fire with artillery on the iron-clad and her consorts, and Walker, steaming rapidly ahead, returned the fire. In a moment the bow of his vessel was blown into the air by the explosion of a submerged torpedo, and all hands were swimming in the river, but were rescued by the boats of the accompanying vessels, while their own vessel went to the bottom a total loss. This catastrophe

did not prevent those gallant fellows from pushing ahead and capturing the town, destroying the navy-yard and two powerful iron-clad rams on the stocks, and filling their remaining vessels with ordnance and other valuable stores captured from the enemy. Thus it will be seen that the torpedoes in no wise demoralized our men. When the Baron de Kalb was afterward examined, it was found that the three nine-inch bow guns were thrown upon their backs, and the vessel and engine completely knocked to pieces. Yet the torpedo that did the mischief was simply a three-gallon demijohn filled with powder and ignited by a friction-fuse, a more primitive machine than Fulton had ever experimented with.

From this time forward we heard more of torpedoes, but, as stringent regulations were issued regarding them, no mishap of consequence occurred; but vessels ascending small rivers always carried in advance a long pole bearing a deep net, with which to scoop up any torpedoes that might be in the way.

About May, 1864, a new description of Confederate torpedo was brought to my notice. By assiduous watching of small boats crossing the Mississippi, I succeeded in capturing a package of dispatches which fully explained the organization of a corps of Confederate torpedo-setters, together with the names of the parties concerned, and their commissions signed by Mr. Mallory, "Secretary of the Navy." This old sea-dog, not having any vessels wherewith to operate on the ocean, except the one commanded by Semmes, his *beau-idéal* of an incendiary, organized a body of horse-marines to patrol the shore, who were directed to sink, burn, and destroy every Union vessel on the Mississippi and its tributaries by means of the new style of infernal machines. In order to circumvent these machinations, I appointed a corps of detectives to travel in all merchant-steamers, and win the confidence of the rebel operators. Some of the latter ended their career very suddenly. The general order which I thought necessary to issue at that time recites the reckless character of the people with whom we had to deal; who, notwithstanding their diabolical warfare, would under other circumstances have been sufficiently tender-hearted if called upon to use only eighteen-pounders. One very valuable vessel was destroyed by these infernal machines. She was used as a "wharf-boat," or store-ship, at

the Mound City Navy-Yard, was six hundred feet long and sixty wide, and filled with stores for the fleet. Notwithstanding the greatest vigilance was exercised, a torpedo resembling a lump of coal was introduced on board, and the vessel was destroyed by the fire which took place after the explosion. At the time of this occurrence, my flag-ship, the Black Hawk, was made fast to the wharf-boat, and the first notice I had of her danger was a slight explosion, when the whole vessel was immediately wrapped in flames. Here was a torpedo beneath the notice of the Bushnells and Fultons, yet sufficiently effective in its particular line.

It would perhaps require a subtle casuist to determine how far such contrivances are justifiable in war. My own reason and experience have taught me that the most prompt and harassing measures are the best; and if ever war is made so dangerous that every combatant will to a certainty be killed, then there is an end of the business, and the Peace Society can put up their shutters. I had rather an exciting time with some of the explosive land-torpedoes operated by Secretary Mallory's horse-marines. In the fall of 1864 I was at "Dutch Gap," on James River, making arrangements for the government of the naval forces left to take care of the obstructions in that stream, and to prevent the rebel fleet coming down while I was absent at Fort Fisher. General Butler came up soon afterward in a swift steamer called the Greyhound, and, as he desired to see me on some public business, I started to accompany him in that vessel to Fortress Monroe. Dutch Gap was then the rendezvous for all kinds of people who were working on the famous canal; many of them their own mothers would not have recognized, and, a thing that could hardly have been prevented, emissaries from the enemy's camp frequently visited the place. As we steamed down the river I drew General Butler's attention to several rough-looking fellows on deck, and he ordered the vessel rounded-to at Bermuda Hundred, and turned the strangers over to a guard. We then continued on our way, but in about half an hour an explosion took place in or near the furnaces, and the vessel was almost immediately in flames amidships. The crew jumped overboard, and we in the after-part lowered a boat and just managed to escape from the flames. It was my belief that the men we had set on shore had deposited some of their infernal machines among the coal; at the

proper time they exploded, and the result was the loss of a beautiful steamer, with a fine lot of horses belonging to the general. The work of these incendiaries was so thoroughly done that in ten minutes from the time of the fire breaking out not a vestige of the steamer remained.

During the Red River Expedition, in the spring of 1864, the Confederates used every effort to give us a warm reception, and torpedoes were planted all along the river, which we removed as we passed up. On our return down the river, the Eastport, a splendid and costly iron-clad ram, struck a torpedo, which apparently contained not more than twenty pounds of powder, and in five minutes the vessel sank in shoal water. I brought to the assistance of her commanding officer two heavy pump-boats, and by pumping and bailing managed to get her two hundred miles farther down the river, where her progress was effectually stopped by a tremendous barrier of logs. Any attempt to force the iron-clad through this would have exposed the rest of the vessels to destruction, many of them being already badly cut up, so I ordered the Eastport to be blown up. This was the last vessel of my command that was sunk by torpedoes on the Western waters; but had Mallory's horse-marines shown common energy and intelligence in resisting, with their torpedoes, our advance up Red River, few if any of our vessels would have escaped.

I mention these occurrences to show how very destructive a small quantity of powder or gun-cotton can be made to an enemy afloat; and, although Fulton was so violently opposed and ridiculed, he was not much out of the way in advocating a torpedo corps, to consist of a thousand boats, with their complement of officers and men, to attack the enemy's vessels wherever they could be found at anchor or in a calm. In Fulton's day such a notion received less encouragement than would now a scheme for transporting passengers to the Paris Exposition by a balloon. Of late years, so great has been the progress made in the sciences and mechanic arts that there is no longer room to question the success of this once dubious system of naval warfare.

All told, we lost nearly twenty vessels from torpedoes during the war of the rebellion. Most of the occurrences were simply mentioned in the public dispatches of the time, and are, hence, not familiar to the general reader. Persons unacquainted with a

sea-life are apt to imagine it a fine thing to be a naval officer, roaming about the world in a noble ship, with all sail set alow and aloft, and doubtless it is a privilege to serve one's country in so honorable a calling; but this is only the rose-colored view of the matter, and there are very many incidents in the profession which would be exceedingly distasteful to a landsman—among them the liability to being blown to atoms when skimming over the bosom of a summer sea. Who does not remember the fate of the gallant Craven and his officers and men, when fearlessly advancing in the Tecumseh to the attack on Mobile, how the ship encountered a hundred-pound torpedo, and in thirty seconds after the explosion went to the bottom, leaving but a few survivors to tell the story? Here was a vessel, costing over a million dollars, destroyed by a small torpedo which cost less than one hundred.

The case of the Commodore Jones, a large gunboat that was blown up at "Deep Bottom," on James River, was a particularly painful one. This vessel was at the time employed in dragging for torpedoes, and was surrounded by row-boats employed in the same service. The captain having been notified by a negro pilot that he was near sunken torpedoes, the gunboat's engines were stopped and she commenced backing. Scarcely had she gathered stern-way, "when suddenly and without any apparent cause she appeared to be lifted bodily, her wheels rapidly revolving in the air, and persons declared they could see the green grass of the river-bank beneath her keel. An immense fountain of foaming water shot to a great height, followed by a denser column thick with mud. The vessel absolutely crumbled to pieces, dissolved as it were in mid-air, enveloped by the falling spray, mud, water, and smoke. When the excitement of the explosion subsided, not a vestige of the vessel remained in sight, except small fragments of her frame which came shooting to the surface." Nearly every one on board was killed or wounded. This vessel was destroyed by a charge of about two thousand pounds of powder contained in a tank and fired by electric wires. It is needless to say that this catastrophe checked the advance of the other vessels astern of the Jones, but measures were immediately taken to capture the torpedo-operators, who, to save their lives, pointed out the location of other infernal machines, and explained the secrets of their torpedo service.

The Confederates took particular pains to defend the James River by torpedoes, which had the effect of completely closing it against the approach of the United States vessels. Our fleet would have been destroyed in detail had it attempted to force its way up against the concealed torpedoes protected by heavy batteries. In the early part of 1864 the Confederates had completed their system of defense throughout the South, and the difficulty of approaching their strongholds through their lines of torpedoes was almost insurmountable. The ideas of Fulton seemed to have taken possession of our humane friends at the South, and it would require a book to describe all the incidents connected with Confederate torpedo warfare, and to recite the damage we sustained in the latter part of the war, when the enemy had by means of blockade-runners imported hundreds of electric batteries, and tons of iron carcasses to be filled and distributed, as occasion required, through all parts of the Confederacy. Every navigable stream within their jurisdiction was amply defended by submarine batteries; and General Beauregard remarked concerning Charleston, that he attached more importance to one of his pet torpedoes for the defense of that place than to five ten-inch guns; and well he might, since our iron-clads were impervious to the latter, and entirely vulnerable to the torpedoes.

The following is a list of our vessels destroyed or severely damaged after the Confederates had succeeded in getting their torpedo system in full operation. Some of the saddest episodes of the war were in connection with the loss of these vessels—Cairo, Baron de Kalb, Eastport, a wharf-boat, Commodore Jones, Tecumseh, Otsego, Basely, Patapsco, Harvest Moon, Milwaukee, Osage, Rodolphe, Scioto, Ida, Althea, Housatonic—to say nothing of injuries to vessels, destruction of boats, and a somewhat demoralizing effect temporarily produced on a navy which has never yet declined to attempt the most hazardous undertakings.

If, after investigating the results of torpedo warfare since the year 1862, any one will undertake to decide against its efficiency, I should give him little credit for judgment. Had we established at the beginning of the war a torpedo corps superior to that of the Confederates, supplied with the modern appliances, we might successfully have fought torpedo with torpedo, and, if the Confederates blocked up the inside of their

rivers, we could have blocked up the outside channels with such contrivances that the blockade-runners would either have been blown up or kept out of the harbors, and the enemy would soon have been deprived of the sinews of war. In whatever shape torpedoes are employed, there are always two sides to the game, and it must not be supposed that it will belong exclusively to one party. We showed during the war either a want of intelligence in not using torpedoes, or an excess of humanity, and a rash confidence of easily overcoming a vigilant and energetic foe, a confidence which was not justified by our experience as the war went on. But since the close of the war we have paid particular attention to the subject, and at present are as well informed in all that relates to the torpedo, and as ready to discard our false notions of humanity, as any other nation, for at present the naval powers of the world are acting as if they almost believed in Fulton's prophecy, that the torpedo would "finally revolutionize all naval warfare."

Hitherto I have alluded principally to the torpedo as used for the defense of rivers and harbors, but that is not the most formidable mode of employing it. Since the close of our war the torpedo-vessel has been successfully developed; and now that the nations of Europe have constructed great iron-clad fleets armed with monster guns, the admiration of the world, behold there springs into existence this little ocean-scorpion, bristling with outriggers and exploding tails, and endowed with a speed sufficient to overtake or escape from the strongest ships! A naval officer might almost stand aghast at the prospect of his ship being struck unawares by one of these stealthy and effective sea-devils. He will dread them in the future as the whale dreads the sword-fish: when once the enemy has struck, there is no hope of escape; and the blockheads who have pooh-poohed the torpedo-vessel as a harmless affair will be the first to surround their ships with logs and nets, so as not to be blown into eternity while quietly eating their dinners.

The Confederates were the first to use the torpedo-boat, and began by launching several cigar-shaped vessels, each about fifty feet long, propelled by steam, and carrying a torpedo on the end of a boom, which could be run out, lowered under a ship's bottom, and fired. These vessels were called "Davids," in allusion,

I suppose, to the story of David and Goliath. The "Davids" were rather crude affairs, and drowned their own people oftener than those they were in pursuit of, but they kept our blockading forces very uneasy, harassing them continually. On the night of October 5, 1863, a "David" got alongside the iron-clad New Ironsides, off Charleston, and, exploding a torpedo against her side, shook the ship terribly, and did considerable damage. On the night of February 17, 1864, a "David" attacked the sloop-of-war Housatonic, lying at anchor outside Charleston Harbor, and blew a hole in the ship's bottom, which caused her to sink in a few moments. After the war it was discovered, on examination of the wreck of the Housatonic by divers, that the torpedo-boat which destroyed her had run partly into the opening made by the explosion, so that all on board the "David" found a watery grave.

Many of our vessels were at different times during the war attacked by torpedoes fitted to steam-launches, which did great damage, rendering the vessels useless, at least for the time being; among the vessels lost in this way were the Minnesota and the Wabash, two of our largest frigates. These torpedo-boats were small affairs, mostly improvised for the occasion, with incomplete apparatus and insufficient charges; but they were a step in the right direction, and are the originals of the perfected torpedo-vessel which will in the future decide the issues of naval battles.

The nations of Europe are now actively engaged in perfecting the torpedo-vessel, and the results are very encouraging. Torpedo-boats of great speed and capacity for mischief have been designed; while England, with characteristic stubbornness, has so far done little in this direction, trusting more to her iron bulwarks and stout tars than to a mode of warfare which the conservative blue-jacket will still insist upon styling contemptible and cowardly, fit only for Chinamen and Feejee-Islanders. At this moment no nation can afford to ignore the torpedo, either as an offensive or defensive weapon; to do so would be evidence that they had not observed the recent great improvements, or that observation had taught them nothing. When I hear a naval officer speak contemptuously of the torpedo, saying that it can be of no great use in time of war, I set him down as one whose opinion is of no consequence on that or any other professional subject, for

he has either benefited nothing by experience or has never had any experience by which to benefit. It is true that the torpedo will not so change the character of naval war that great ships will be dispensed with; for, in proportion as this engine is developed, new contrivances for withstanding it will be invented. The nation that possesses the most powerful fleets will, as heretofore, dominate its adversaries on the sea, and we shall live to see perfected torpedo-vessels engaging other torpedo-vessels on the ocean, as we see the light-cavalry combats of two contending armies.

The idea has got abroad among superficial observers that large ships of the present type will disappear before the advent of the new torpedo-boat, and that torpedoes planted in channels will render forts and heavy guns unnecessary—an opinion which is not shared by experienced persons. Under the guns of a heavy fleet torpedoes can be raised from a channel at night, by men in submarine armor, or the machines can be made useless by cutting the firing wires, or ships can use certain appliances which, in many cases, will neutralize the effects of torpedo-boats. A watchful commander will be always on the alert for these little sea-devils, his nets ready for service, and his own torpedo-launches on the *qui vive.* At night his electric lights should illuminate the surrounding waters, and his guns be ready to pour in grape on an approaching foe. It is true that torpedoes in channels at times stopped the advance of our naval forces during the late civil war, but we had not always a sufficient strength in ships and guns to overcome the forts which were always ready to drive away our boats when groping for the hidden enemy. The torpedo is a powerful adjunct in war, but nothing more. It cannot bombard an enemy's forts, or lay his cities under contribution, nor can it cruise for, cut up, and destroy, a merchant marine. It cannot transport troops to invade a foreign country; it is simply a most destructive and harassing machine, making war much more horrible while it lasts, but incapable of successfully operating unless backed by powerful ships, which will, as heretofore, doubtless prove the chief naval strength of the various nations.

Every ship, large or small, can, in a measure, be converted into a torpedo-vessel, projecting the Whitehead torpedo from her sides, or operating the Lay torpedo from her deck; and the greater speed which, other things being equal, a large vessel must have

as compared with a small one, would perhaps render the former more efficient in this mode of warfare than the latter. Torpedoes, in combination with rams, will so far change the character of naval warfare, that there will be no more sea-battles fought in extended lines, as of old, but fleets will fight in groups of three or four ships, with a combination including the gun-vessel, ram, and torpedo, so that each can support the other, and an intelligent commander can manœuvre without danger of collision or breaking the line of battle.

Some of the swiftest torpedo-boats yet constructed are on the plan of Thornycroft, of England, but they hardly seem to deserve the high estimate which some writers have put upon them, for in a heavy sea-way they are useless. The torpedo-vessel, to be thoroughly effective, should be able to keep the sea in any weather, steam at the rate of seventeen knots, be wholly impervious to grape, and partly so to shot, and be fitted with all the improved torpedo devices.

The United States have as yet done very little practically in the way of using torpedoes. Our naval vessels are fitted with a torpedo-spar which is now out of date, and should give way to new contrivances. We have built one good torpedo-vessel, but she is deficient in speed, without which no vessel of this kind can be depended upon at sea; but she will answer very well for harbor-defense, until improved machinery is provided to drive her fourteen or fifteen knots. In other respects she is a formidable vessel. We have at Newport, Rhode Island, an excellent school for instruction in torpedo warfare, and some twenty young officers graduate there each year, carrying with them information which in case of war will be of the greatest value. We possess numerous torpedo inventions which have been practically tested at Newport before boards of officers. Some of these contrivances are very good, and others sufficiently primitive; but I hesitate to particularize any of them, since, if I spoke doubtfully of some, their inventors would consider it a special grievance.

During the late war we never made but one serious attack on the Confederates with the torpedo, but that affair was too remarkable to pass unnoticed here. The Government had sent to Hampton Roads three steam-launches fitted with torpedoes on the end of a pole, devised by Chief-Engineer Wood and Assistant-

Engineer Lay. The torpedo consisted of a copper case with a hollow tube through the centre, at the bottom of which was fixed a cone for a fulminate cap; at the end was an iron ball to act as a plunger and explode the cap, the ball being held by a safety-pin. An inclined partition divided the interior of the torpedo into a magazine and an air-chamber. The disposition of the charge caused the torpedo to take position in the water with the chamber uppermost, with the trigger-line attached to the pin to lead so as to give a direct pull from the boat. The poles lay alongside the boat, and when run out took an angular course under a ship's bottom. Lieutenant Cushing having given personal attention to the fitting of these steam-launches, and having originally proposed the blowing-up of the Albemarle, by direction of the Department I sent him to execute this dangerous duty. He was fully equipped, and had instructions to proceed to the sounds of North Carolina, communicate with the commanding officer of the flotilla, Commander Macomb, and make all his dispositions to destroy the rebel ram (the Confederate iron-clad ram Albemarle), then lying off Plymouth, North Carolina, which vessel was bidding defiance to our flotilla of six or seven vessels, had disabled some of them, and kept all hands in a decidedly uncomfortable frame of mind. Everything worked well, and Cushing was not discovered by the enemy until he had come close alongside the Albemarle, on the night of October 27, 1864. The vessel was surrounded by logs and other obstructions. In pushing his pole over the logs, and forcing his boat partly through them, he exploded the torpedo, and the Albemarle was so much injured that she sunk while firing upon Cushing with great guns and small-arms. The torpedo-boat filled with water, and Cushing and some of his brave companions escaped by swimming; others were drowned, and the rest taken prisoners. As soon as Macomb received notice of Cushing's success, he pushed up a back inlet as I had directed, and, taking the enemy in the rear, captured the town of Plymouth and the defenses, with some nine or ten heavy guns, together with a large supply of small-arms, stores, etc.—all resulting from the performance of a little torpedo-boat with fifty pounds of powder on the end of a pole! This success gave us entire control of the sounds of North Carolina, which control we ever afterward maintained.

History has done justice to this affair, and Cushing received the most enthusiastic commendation for his gallant conduct; but success was also owing to Commander Macomb, who had all the arrangements carried out, and performed so gallantly the final *coup* by which the Albemarle fell into our hands, with the other spoils of war. She was afterward raised, and found to be unhurt, with the exception of a small hole in her bottom.

Of all torpedo experiments this was the most interesting that ever came under my observation. Here was a great iron-clad, costing perhaps a million dollars, a vessel that had successfully resisted and inflicted great damage on a fleet carrying some very heavy guns, and was only making a few additions to her strength preparatory to capturing or destroying Macomb and all his forces. The town of Plymouth, a valuable strategic point, with all its guns, stores, etc., fell into our possession, through the gallant action of a handful of officers and men, and the intelligent use of a small torpedo-boat. Macomb and Cushing have gone to their long home, but the memory of their bravery and good judgment I shall ever cherish.

The sinking of the Albemarle so convinced me of the value of the torpedo-vessel, that I have ever since been deeply interested in the subject, and have constantly endeavored to improve upon the designs which have been presented to the public. I am acquainted with the details of nearly forty automatic powder-torpedoes, and a number of others charged with gun-cotton and dynamite, and fired by electricity. Every one of the above, with very simple mechanism, would perform its work effectively, but it would be impossible to give a name to these things, much less write a satisfactory description of them. The most widely-known torpedo at present, and the one most approved by authorities in Europe, is the Whitehead or fish torpedo, the invention of an Englishman named Whitehead. The details of its construction are not publicly known, being imparted only to certain persons in the Navies of Great Britain and Austria, each of which powers has paid the inventor twenty thousand pounds sterling for his secret.

The Whitehead torpedo is cigar-shaped, propelled by an engine using compressed air, and is discharged from a vessel or from the shore, running at the rate of sixteen miles an hour. It can be

set to run on the surface or at any required depth, and explodes on striking an object. Although the Whitehead has given better results than any other torpedo of its class, it has several eccentricities of character, sometimes turning about without notice and making for its friends, or exploding prematurely. The distance this torpedo can run is in proportion to the size of the motor which gives it its speed and direction. To show the unreliability of the Whitehead torpedo, I will refer to the engagement between the Peruvian iron-clad Huascar and two British men-of-war. The Shah, one of the latter, sent a fish-torpedo against the Huascar, which, seeing bubbles of air rising to the surface, avoided the machine, and it ran straight into a harbor near by; there, the compressed air being gradually expended, the torpedo rested quietly alongside a Dutch merchant-vessel at anchor, with no power to do harm. The Dutch captain, seeing what he supposed to be a live fish alongside, got out his fishing-tackle, but was disgusted at not getting a bite; only after several unsuccessful attempts with a harpoon did he discover the nature of his visitor. The Whitehead may, under certain circumstances, be a destructive instrument, but, owing to its erratic movements, it is liable in the heat of battle to prove dangerous to its friends.

The torpedo-vessel will, in the end, I am convinced, prove a most effective and certain means of offense, as its movements are at all times under the entire control of its commander, who can select his own time for attack and retreat.

No detailed account of torpedoes could be given within the limits of an ordinary article, and I have only attempted to deal with general principles, referring for a more complete illustration of this subject to the various works in which it has been treated.

D. D. Porter.

III.

IS THE REFORMER ANY LONGER NEEDED?

The philosophy of evolution, as applied to the problems of the physical world, is rapidly winning the victory over all opposition. Resting upon the sure foundation of known facts and necessary inductions, it has little to fear from the assaults of mere declamation, or the unbelieving conservatism which sees only danger and disaster in courageously following the truth.

But the attempt of some of the chief apostles of this philosophy to apply its teachings literally in the domain of morals and politics involves considerations of very grave moment to the cause of social progress. They tell us that society is not a manufacture, but a growth; and that civilization, therefore, is not an artificial thing, but a part of Nature—of a piece with the development of the embryo, or the unfolding of a flower. Manufacturing morals, we are told, is as unscientific as manufacturing worlds; while social progress is to be wrought out by gradual development, and not by spasms of philanthropy or sudden outbreaks of reform. It is not an accident, but a necessity, and therefore all special reforms are to be superseded by social evolution. The Clarksons and Wilberforces of a past generation must give place to the Spencers and Bagehots of the present, and thus usher in a new dispensation in the history of the race. According to Herbert Spencer, no teaching or policy can advance the work of social development beyond a certain normal rate, while it is quite possible to perturb, to retard, or to disorder the process; and, by maintaining favorable conditions, there cannot be more good done than by letting social progress go on unhindered, while an immensity of mischief may be done in the way of disturbing and distorting and repressing, by policies carried out in pursuit of

erroneous conceptions. The growth of society is thus analogous to the growth of an animal, or a plant, proceeding in a predetermined order under the influence of causes which act spontaneously, and in perfect harmony with all cosmical development. A very high authority on moral and social questions, catching the spirit of these ideas, traces a great portion of existing evils to benevolent interferences for their removal. He asserts that in this world a large part of the business of the wise is to counteract the efforts of the good, and that those only can safely and serviceably encounter social evils who can both watch and in some measure imitate God's mode of dealing with them. He tells us that the coldest tempers are generally, in matters of philanthropy, the soundest thinkers and safest guides and administrators, and that a tender-hearted statesman is almost more to be dreaded than a despot or an adventurer; while, to be worthy and efficient coadjutors with God on the great arena of the world, we must be able to borrow some of the sublime, impassive calm with which, age after age, he has looked down upon the slow progress and lingering miseries of his children. The motto of the social evolutionist is "Slow and sure;" and he exhorts us, as far as possible, to eliminate the time-element from our reckoning of human progress, and imitate Nature in her infinite patience in waiting so long for the physical world to grow into decent and comely shape. With him, human endeavors for ameliorating the condition of humanity are, of course, hinderances rather than helps, and the reformer is to be regarded as representing a type of mind no longer needed, and as destined soon to disappear under the law of the survival of the fittest. Like the mastodon, the dodo, and other creations of the past, he will become extinct, and we shall patiently and placidly look on while social evolution does the work which his ignorance and fanaticism so clumsily attempted in a ruder and less advanced stage of society.

This new gospel demands our attention. It makes its appeal in the name of science, and it has the support of great names. Its teaching is plausible, and it embodies a measure of truth. It is remarkably solacing to a certain order of minds, and we believe multitudes will be tempted to embrace it as a welcome scapegoat for their laziness or moral indifference. It arraigns all the great

reforms of the world, and would substitute a sickly moral fatalism for those deeds of heroism and self-sacrifice which have glorified human nature and lighted the world on its way to higher truth. Let us briefly consider it.

The fallacies on which it rests are not difficult to discover. In the first place, it assumes the existence of an obviously false and impossible analogy. When we are exhorted to imitate God's mode of dealing with social evils, and to become coadjutors with him by borrowing his sublime patience, it may be well to remember that we are not gods, but human beings, very limited in our knowledge and circumscribed in our sphere of action. The folly of the suggestion that we should put ourselves in the place of the Creator, in order that we may have wise and comprehensive views of our duties to our fellow-creatures, is only equaled by its sublime effrontery. Whoever believes in a Supreme Intelligence must believe that he sees the end from the beginning. The universe is his expression and breath. All its parts and appointments are the fruit of his infinite wisdom, and are seen to work together for good. What is hidden and inscrutable to us must be to him as transparent as light, and in perfect accord with justice, mercy, and truth. To talk about the patience of the Deity, therefore, is to apply the vocabulary of mortals to a Being who infinitely surpasses our comprehension. Patience is a human virtue, implying weakness and imperfection. It means enduring, suffering with meekness, sustaining pains and trials without murmuring or fretfulness, bearing trouble with equanimity. This cannot be predicated of God, whose very attributes must make him impassive in surveying the work of his hands. And even this human virtue is only enjoined upon us in encountering evils which are unavoidable; for, if we have the power to remove them, our patience under their burden ceases to be a virtue, if it does not become a vice.

Equally irrational is the notion that we may become Godlike by eliminating the element of time in dealing with the evils of society. We have no right to break away from those limitations which make us what we are, and we have no more power to do so than we have to add to our stature by taking thought. With our Creator, as we are told and believe, the universe is "an everlasting Now;" but with us the little fragment of time which

rounds out our life is simply the gateway of duty and toil. It is our providential opportunity, into which we should crowd every beneficent activity which an unselfish devotion to truth and humanity can kindle. We cannot, therefore, become coadjutors with our Maker by folding our hands and waiting upon evolution, or the cold logic of events, but by acting well our appointed part in the fleeting drama of life—by plunging into the strifes and struggles of our time, and wisely but fervently toiling for our kind. These strifes and struggles afford ample scope for our powers, and we have no right to shirk the task to which we are summoned. Evolution is God's method of operating in the natural world, and, in a qualified sense, in the moral; but it can perform no vicarious office for us as intelligent beings endowed with a conscience, who must work out our own salvation. It cannot supersede the strivings and sacrifices of good men for the race. It cannot cancel our social obligations by eloquent talk about gradual development and comprehensive views. It cannot cure the ills of society by assuring us that progress is a necessity, and that, while we may cripple and retard social development, we have no power to aid it. It cannot strengthen the hands of struggling Virtue, or increase our reverence for our Maker, by reminding us of his unruffled serenity in looking down upon the tardy progress and lingering miseries of his children. It cannot bring reproach and derision upon the world's great reforms and reformers without a corresponding blight and paralysis of the world's faith in goodness. It cannot reform society by proclaiming abstract theories of progress, while those who would smite social evils in their concrete form are branded as fanatics and men of "one idea." It cannot save the world through the leadership of men who boast of their philosophic principles, and their patience under the troubles and sorrows of their fellow-creatures. It cannot establish its doctrine of scientific fatalism without sapping the very foundation of morals. Every civilized community is scourged by some devouring evil, which invites the organized resistance of good men. Through their agency the work of social evolution goes forward, and they are without excuse if they fail to put forth their endeavors. The shortness of life and the feebleness of our powers make the time-element in our reckoning of progress all the more vital. They should render us not more

but *less* patient in dealing with curable social ills. They should incite us to lavish our efforts in the service of humanity, instead of stingily withholding them, and waiting supinely for evolution to take up our task. They should teach us to capitalize our philanthropy to the utmost, and fund it freely in deeds of active beneficence. Any one of the reforms of our day is large enough to tax the best energies of our strongest men, and all of them must lag and languish if, instead of looking to partial and immediate results through our personal exertions, we commit the solution of social problems to the working of inevitable laws.

But we observe, in the next place, that the central idea of this new philosophy is fallacious. It is not contended that the forces which rule society naturally gravitate in the direction of evil, nor is it denied that their tendency, as in the case of individual men, is toward improved conditions. If this were not true, there could be no such thing as a science of history, and the moral world would be the sport of accident and chance. We accept Mr. Bagehot's general idea of a philosophy of progress, which he so skillfully labors to enforce and illustrate; but Mr. Bagehot himself asserts that "the progress of *man* requires the coöperation of *men* for its development." It is not true that the process of civilization is a part of Nature, like the unfolding of a flower. It is not true that social progress goes on as a necessity, according to any invariable law. It is not true that laws and institutions *grow*, in the sense in which we speak of the growth of plants and animals. If these premises were valid, Mr. Spencer would undoubtedly be right in declaring that, while we can retard or disorder the process of social development, we can do nothing whatever to advance it. But the fact is that, while the process of development, in the animal and vegetable kingdoms, is achieved indirectly and unintentionally, social evolution is chiefly the result of efforts consciously put forth for the purpose. To a very large extent communities, like individuals, are the architects of their own fortunes. Evolution is ever at work; but whether it takes a forward or retrograde course must depend largely upon the voluntary action of the people, or of their recognized leaders, in adopting or rejecting particular laws or policies. Prof. Cairnes, in an article written a few years ago combating the views of Mr.

Spencer, proves from the highest critical and historical authority that the stationary condition of the race is the rule and the progressive the exception, and that the greater part of mankind has never shown the least desire that its civil institutions should be improved. He shows that on this ground, and not according to any theory of social evolution, we must account for the retrograde course of certain nations after they have reached an advanced stage of civilization; and he makes the apt quotation from Mr. Mill, that "political institutions are the work of men; owe their origin and their existence to human will. Men did not wake on a summer morning, and find them sprung up. Neither do they resemble trees, which, once planted, are aye growing while men are sleeping. In every stage of their existence they are made what they are by human voluntary agency." And this reasoning is justified by historical facts which he adduces. Rome was incalculably indebted for her later preëminence to the fortunate and timely adoption of her early code of laws. Her decline and ruin resulted from the decay of her yeomanry and her vast landed estates. The paternal despotism of China carried her up to the civilization she has attained, but is a most formidable barrier to further progress. The absolute monarchy of the Jews produced different results, because they had a peculiar body of men called prophets, the patriots and guides of their time, who were able to withstand the power of kings and priests. Not upon any invariable law, therefore, working in the direction of good or evil, but upon human agency, must the fortunes of states greatly depend. The right does not always come uppermost in the concerns of this world. The truth is often put down by falsehood and force. In his famous essay on "Liberty," Mr. Mill says Christianity itself only became predominant because the persecutions of its enemies were occasional, and separated by long intervals of propagandism. Injustice is not an appointed necessity, but neither is Justice strong enough to win in her ever-recurring conflict with the powers of evil without the help of faithful and heroic men. "We ought not to forget that there is an incessant and ever-flowing current of human affairs toward the worse, consisting of all the follies, all the vices, all the negligences, indolences, and supinenesses of mankind, which is only controlled and kept from sweeping all before it by the exertions which some persons constantly,

and others by fits, put forth in the direction of good and worthy objects." This confession of faith of John Stuart Mill, with which Prof. Cairnes enforces his argument, was the key-note of his life; and whoever thoroughly accepts it as the inspiration of his labors will be ready to work for humanity as if the fortunes of the world depended on his personal endeavors. The fortunes of the world, indeed, to a large extent, *have* depended upon the toils and struggles of just such men; while those who have looked on in indifference, or opposed all efforts at reform because they believed it wiser "to let social progress go on unhindered," have left the world little better than they found it, if they have not been positive obstructions to human welfare.

Who can look back upon the great reforms of the world, and pronounce them so many ill-fated struggles to better its condition which only deflected the path of progress from its true course? Who can gainsay the grand lesson of history so beautifully stated by Mr. Motley, that "the generation that plants is not the generation that gathers in the harvest, but all mankind at last inherit what is sown in the blood and tears of a few?" Who, that is not the slave of mere theories, would discrown the martyrs whose blood has been the seed of the Church? Who would dishonor the apostles and prophets of free thought in every age who have blazed the way of progress for the race, and made our present civilization possible? Mr. Buckle affirms that Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations" has contributed more to the happiness of man than has been effected by the united abilities of all the statesmen and legislators of whom history has preserved an authentic account. The age we live in is what we find it because of the labors and sacrifices of *all* the great souls of the past. If progress has been evolved, it has also quite as certainly been propagated. It is not simply the product of law, but the fruit of human toil and sacrifice, voluntarily embraced for the improvement and regeneration of mankind. Our churches, our educational institutions, our organized charities, our scientific associations, our various special reforms, and that marvelous instrumentality called the press, are all so many testimonies to the power of voluntary efforts purposely employed in the furtherance of human well-being, and so many practical refutations of the theory that social

development is dwarfed and deformed by attempts to improve it.

But the new doctrine is not only fallacious, but necessarily demoralizing. This is implied in what we have already said, but it needs to be particularly emphasized. It unavoidably results from the principle that social development, while it may be hindered or deranged, cannot be artificially bettered. Mr. Spencer says this doctrine "is calculated to have a *steadying* effect on thought and action." It cannot fail to produce a paralyzing effect. He admits that sanguine reformers will feel that it takes away "much of the stimulus to exertion;" and he asks, "If large advances in human welfare can come only in the slow process of things, which will inevitably bring them, why should we trouble ourselves?" This staggering question he answers by saying that "on visionary hopes, rational criticisms have a depressing influence," but that "it is better to recognize the truth." The truth which he thus frankly counsels us to recognize is the fatalism of his theory of development, and the consequent helplessness of humanity to speed its social advancement. According to this doctrine the reformer is not simply a fanatic, but a social nuisance. He is a benevolent intermeddler with a process which may be marred, but cannot be mended; and the business of wise and sober men is to counteract his mischief. The philanthropist must surrender his vocation, and his dreams of human amelioration, to men of cold tempers and comprehensive views. The patriot, who pictures to himself a possible future of renovated institutions and a regenerated state, and burns with the longing to realize his aspirations, must be put under the training of Science, while Evolution is to have free course and be glorified.

The effect of these teachings, if generally accepted, cannot be doubtful. Unquestionably, the fanaticism so commonly found in alliance with reformatory movements has wrought much mischief. No one will dispute this. Fanaticism is the epidemic of our times, whether it shows itself in special reforms, in politics, in religion, or in trade. It seems to be inseparable from human affairs, and especially all high endeavors. It certainly has its uses, nor is it easy to see how the race could have advanced without it. Worldly prudence and calculation are not the highest

virtues, nor the chief mainsprings of human progress. They are honored by the selfish and the time-serving quite as sincerely as by the worthier classes in society. The reformer often finds them the cousin-germans of cowardice, and the most formidable foes of that disinterestedness which animates his labors. The philosopher too, with his broad views and many-sided tendencies, will decline to follow him. He loves the truth, and sincerely dedicates himself to its service, but is not ready to bear witness to it by great personal sacrifices. He doubts as much as he believes, and has no taste for any form of martyrdom. One of the foremost writers and thinkers of our time tells us that profound thought, if thoroughly honest and conscientious, is deplorably apt to sap the foundations and impair the strength of our moral as well as intellectual convictions. The thinkers of the world are not its saviors. "The tree of knowledge is not that of life." "Enthusiasm," says Emerson, "is the leaping lightning, not to be measured by the horse-power of the understanding." The truth is, that real social progress is always accomplished by imperfectly aspiring toward a perfect ideal; and in this work the faculty of imagination has the chief share. It has been well said that if you destroy this faculty the condition of man will become as stationary as that of the brutes. Without the fanaticism of self-sacrifice which the imagination kindles, our civilization would be hopelessly dwarfed and mutilated. The fanaticism of the early Christians was the soil in which their faith took root; and the simple and sublime doctrines of the new religion, which now bear witness to its truth, were floated down the centuries on the errors and misconceptions of its disciples. Without the impelling fanaticism of Luther and his collaborators, their battle against Rome would never have been fought. The founder of Quakerism paid little heed to the canons of worldly wisdom, while the fanaticism of John Woolman purged the Society of Friends of the guilt of slavery, and waked such a response in other humane hearts, in the Old World and the New, that the way was thus opened for emancipation in the British West India Islands, and the ultimate abolition of slavery in the United States. It was the fanaticism of Daniel O'Connell which achieved Catholic emancipation, and made Ireland a nation. When he began his agitation nothing could have seemed more utterly and hopelessly impossible, according to all human calcula-

tion; but his soul was so burdened with the accumulated sorrows of his country, which his matchless eloquence set to music, that he became the liberator of Ireland by thus multiplying himself among his people. It was the fanaticism of reform which repealed the English Corn-laws, in opposition to the statesmanship, the public opinion, and the educated classes of the time. If Garrison and his associates had taken counsel of the wise and sober men of America, who could see only failure and disaster in the antislavery agitation, the world-famous crusade of the abolitionists would never have been heard of, and the Southern negro would have been turned over to the "slow-and-sure" account of social evolution, through which "the sum of all villainies" would have been planted in every Northern State. It was the fanaticism of our fathers a century ago which achieved American independence; for no unimpassioned judgment of their undertaking could have given strength to their hopes. The chances of success were in fact overwhelmingly against them. Of one thing only were they sure, and that was, that England had no right to bind them by laws in the making of which they were denied any share, and that they were ready, if need be, to offer their lives as hostages to liberty. Out of the fanaticisms of Fourier, St.-Simon, and Robert Owen, has come the organized struggle of labor which is now troubling the dreams of despots, compelling capital to respect it by its harsh machinery of strikes and trades-unions, and at the same time opening the way for the just and saving principle of coöperation. Christianity itself, the great seed-plot of reform, is the farthest thing possible from a system of logic, nor "was it accomplished by prize essays, Bridgewater bequests, and a minimum of four thousand five hundred a year." To the Jews it was a stumbling-block, and to the Greeks foolishness; and its doctrine of perfect self-renunciation fares little better with the philosophers and scientists of to-day.

Indeed, if reforms were to be left to thinkers and scholars, and the wise and prudent, they would never be undertaken at all. The grandest efforts of heroic virtue can only be inspired by that supreme devotion to a holy cause which amounts to a fascination, and nothing less than this can call forth the enduring admiration and perfect love of mankind. This truth is illustrated in the

lives of all the world's great martyrs to liberty and high-priests of reform. If no hazards are to be braved, nothing will be attempted. None of the great agitations of the world could have passed muster, if they had been compelled in advance to go to trial on a cool calculation of the chances of success and the sacrifices involved. The reformer feels that if he would save his life he must be ready to lose it. He sees the particular cause he espouses with such vividness, from his mount of vision, and embraces it with such unreserved ardor, that its service is accepted as a divine command. The light which points his way casts all else into the shade. The fire within him consumes every doubt and fear which could beset the path of a cautious and considerate man. He accepts the philosophy embodied in Mr. Lincoln's motto of "one war at a time." If his mind were large enough to see all reforms in their just relationships, and coolly and impartially to estimate their real value and the difficulties of success, he would probably espouse none of them. The task would seem too large, and he would lack that intensity of conviction and concentration of zeal which alone could inspire the needed courage and self-forgetfulness. The very one-sidedness of reformers, their readiness to die for what they believe to be the truth, and that element of exaggeration which so often enters into their conceptions, thus become providential disguises, for which the world has reason to return thanks. Unquestionably, prudence and common-sense are qualities which cannot be prized too highly in the ordinary concerns of life. Science and philosophy have also their sovereign value, and have rendered inestimable service in checking the excesses and extravagances of reform; but the theory which would substitute social evolution for individual and organized efforts to improve society, would take the poetry out of life, and reduce humanity itself to a machine. It strikes a deadly blow at personal responsibility, and belittles human character, which is above all price. It lays its benumbing hand upon the divinest charities and sweetest humanities of the world, and pours contempt upon the sublimest displays of exalted virtue with which the history of the race has made us acquainted.

Nor is it any answer to the views we have presented to say that special reforms served their turn as a provisional necessity,

before the principle of social evolution was discovered, but are now to be thrust aside as the outgrown garments of childhood. On the contrary, we believe there never was a time when signal efforts and sacrifices for human welfare were more urgently demanded than now. The social progress already achieved, only points the way to new duties and wider fields of labor. The discussion and settlement of one question only reveals its relations to others, which logically follow. In the remote future a time may come, through the toils and struggles of humanity, when the work of reform will end in universal conformity to the moral law; but that millennial day is rather too far off to vex us with its interests. Our duty is with "the living present;" and who believes it safe to hand over the great problems of society to-day to the cold and relentless law of development? Look, for example, at our current politics. The issues which divide our great parties are as undiscoverable as they were in the year 1852. Neither of them dares face the real questions which most deeply concern the people, and upon which, alone, party organizations can be justified. Respecting the vital questions of finance and the tariff, each agrees that in particular States and congressional districts its leaders may proclaim such doctrines as will be most likely to secure local ascendency, and thus to make its pretended "principles" the foot-ball of party success. Even their national platforms pipe the same music through different words. It has been aptly observed that half the Democrats are good Republicans, and half the Republicans are good Democrats. Their antagonisms are simply a memory and a habit, and yet party loyalty is intensified just as the uselessness of party machinery becomes more and more evident. Their heaven is power, and each is striving to reach it by despicable makeshifts and stale appeals to its traditions. We have reached one of those seasons of moral stagnation which follow revolutionary periods, and sometimes threaten the very existence of free government. By a sort of universal understanding, the word politics has become the synonym of "jockeyship." Its higher and real meaning is practically forgotten, if not openly laughed at. The old slavery question introduced conscience into our public affairs. It reached down to the very foundations of government, and touched the great springs of our national life. Heart and brain went forth in the glad

service of a great cause, and the spirit of reform was in the air. Men of the most commonplace characters were so lifted up and ennobled by the struggle that the whole land seemed ablaze with the fires of a moral revolution. We believe the hour has struck for another revival, and that it should now be the mission of the reformer to rouse the popular conscience from its deadly slumber, and inspire the conduct of public affairs with the great moralities which dignify private life. He should resolve, with all his might, to divinize instead of diabolize public life, and that the word politics shall no longer stand for venality and pelf, but the application of great and enduring principles to the public well-being. He should insist that political knaves and traders shall be sent to the rear, and their places supplied by men who really believe in God, in humanity, and in rectitude. And, as the necessary preliminary to all this, he should forthwith declare war to the death against the despotism of the caucus, and hail the independent voter as the anointed political Messiah on whom we are to believe.

But some one may ask us to be more specific, and to name some of the special reforms which yet demand attention. One of them presents itself in the financial problem. To the present generation, finance is a new issue in American politics. It is altogether unfamiliar to the customary thought of the people, because the course of our politics for more than a quarter of a century has steadily turned in other directions. The protracted and absorbing controversy respecting African slavery necessarily diverted attention from economic questions, while the war which finally swept slavery away left in its track a paper-money problem scarcely less fearful than that of the rebellion itself. Financial knowledge is now the demand of the hour, for, if financial quackery is allowed to take its place, national bankruptcy and irretrievable dishonor may be the result. There is but one way out of our dilemma, and we shall be obliged to pursue it, even should it involve as thorough an overhauling of the whole question as that through which the country was finally prepared to grapple with the slavery issue and to settle it forever. Why is the question of our currency now involved in so hopeless a muddle? Why are so many of our politicians, in dealing with it, so fearfully afflicted with mental vertigo? Why do they lead us into such a wilderness of metaphysics, and spread before us such a

famine of ideas? How shall we explain their frequent somersaults, and their marvelous performances in "ground and lofty tumbling?" It is not that the question is an inscrutable one, but it has not been considered. Until quite recently it has not found its way into our politics at all, since the old issue respecting a national bank was settled. What we need is a national education in the elements of financial knowledge, and we should be glad to see this begin in our common schools. Indeed, some of our great party leaders and latter-day statesmen seem to need this knowledge quite as much as the rank and file of the people. If it were possible, the horn-book of finance should be placed in their hands, and they should be taught, as speedily as possible, the definition of money; that something cannot be made out of nothing by an act of Congress; that real money must be dug out of the earth, and cannot be obtained by printing any denomination of it on paper; that a dollar is a silver or gold coin of the value of one hundred cents, and not any fraction of this sum, nor a mere promise to pay a dollar, which can be discharged by another promise; that a paper currency, irredeemable in gold or silver, has proved a curse to every country that has tried it, and that any scheme for relieving the indebtedness of individuals or nations without payment is a violation of the command "Thou shalt not steal." Undoubtedly, many questions in political economy as yet remain unsettled, but there are certain elementary principles of finance which are as well established as any facts of physical science; and, if they had been well taught in our schools, the men who are now preying upon the popular ignorance and disturbing the peace of the country would have been more worthily employed.

The thorough reform of our civil service is another urgent demand of the times. It has often been pronounced "the best on the planet;" but it is, in fact, a perfectly shameless system of official huckstering and political prostitution. It poisons the life-blood of the body-politic. It places the power and patronage of the Government at the disposal of trained political pickpockets, who make the very atmosphere mephitic with their familiar vices. It frames iniquity into law, and makes law the servant of iniquity. It stains the good name of our country at home and abroad. It is the root and source of the most startling bribery and corrup-

tion, breaking out in high places, and inundating the whole land with their desolating effects. It robs the people annually to the tune of millions and tens of millions, through its whiskey rings, its Indian rings, its custom-house rings, its railroad rings, and other legalized machinery which it manipulates. It reduces rapacity to a science, and elevates roguery to the dignity of an art. It has so polluted our politics and debauched the moral sense of our public servants that even so respectable a man as Senator Howe, of Wisconsin, openly defends it, and actually refers to the saturnalia of thieves who defied the country under the two Administrations of General Grant as a proof of the honesty of his party. The sovereign remedy for all this is the destruction, root and branch, of the whole system of spoils and plunder; and this will require the bold surgery of reform. It calls for an insurrection of honest men against the disciplined party Janizaries who have so long ruled them. Neither Congress nor the Executive Department of the Government will take a single step until compelled to do so by public opinion. We can no more depend upon our parties and politicians to begin the work than we can trust the dram-shops of the country to organize against their traffic. If any man doubts this, we need only refer him to the spectacle of duplicity and demagogism which our servants at Washington have exhibited in dealing with this question during the past six or seven years, and to the general chuckle of delight which followed the final abandonment of all further attempts to reform administrative abuses; while the faithlessness of the present Administration to its pledges in dealing with this issue and its slippery game of fast and loose have provoked the disgust and contempt of honest men of all parties. The remedy must come from the people, and the people must be rallied and organized against the hierarchy of rogues and malefactors who prey upon the nation and make political honesty a jest.

The labor question involves a reform of world-wide significance. The question of finance is simply a part of it. The abolition of negro slavery was a magnificent triumph of labor reform, lifting four million human beings from the condition of beasts of burden to the dignity of men. This system of chattelized humanity rested upon that false relation of arbitrary power upon

the one side, and dependence and helplessness on the other, which is the life of every form of oppression. The right adjustment of the conflict between capital and labor will emancipate all the races of men from all forms of slavery. It will consummate the work of which abolitionism was the beginning. This involves a complete revolution in our whole system of legislation and policy. The foundations of our civilization were laid in conquest and robbery, and these, under the names of feudalism and monarchy, have held the race in subjection. The remedy is radical reconstruction, and it involves the life of our institutions. "At the very commencement of society," says Mr. Thornton, in his valuable book on "Labor," "as soon as materials for its construction were brought together, its living constituents proceeded forthwith to arrange themselves in layers, the stronger, nimbler, and cunninger, climbing up on their brothers' shoulders, and occupying the higher places, and leaving to those below only the office of upholding them in their elevation." He adds, "The upper myriads may cry peace, peace, but there will be no more peace for them, on the old terms, with the lower millions." And there ought to be none. When we talk about the rights of labor, we talk about the rights of man. When we say that a fair day's work is entitled to a fair day's wages, we declare a principle which, as Carlyle says, is as "indisputable as arithmetical multiplication-tables," and which "must and will have itself fulfilled." We can no more escape it than we can escape gravitation. Our talk about democracy, and the sacredness of human rights, while capital has its foot on the neck of the laborer, is a sham and a cheat. It is the hollow dreariness of demagogism. The chief end of government is not the protection of property, but of man; and this truth must be practically illustrated in such laws as shall hold in check the power of concentrated capital in alliance with labor-saving machinery, and those giant corporations which too often control the makers and expounders of the laws, and are virtually endowed with life-offices and powers of hereditary succession. The task is a large one, and of course will require time, toil, and patience. It presents the most fearful problem with which enlightened humanity has yet been called on to deal. By the side of this labor question the old slavery issue dwindles into a trifle. It casts its portentous shadow across every civilized

land, and is rallying and organizing multiplying millions of discontented and determined men, whose just demands cannot safely be slighted. It foreshadows a conflict between the vandalism and madness of communism on the one hand and the rapacity of capital on the other, which naturally tends to provoke and inspire it, and which, as the Duke of Argyll declares, "overrides even the love of life, and silences even the fear of death." The omens of a coming storm are quite as discernible as were those which preceded the deadly struggle which at last buried African slavery in its bloody grave. Shall we heed these omens, and by wise and timely precautions seek to avert the threatened calamity, or madly resign ourselves to the reckless and pitiless principle of evolution, and thus invite the lightning of retribution which else might be conducted harmlessly to the earth?

The land question is the twin-brother of the labor question, and involves considerations equally momentous and far-reaching. "The earth is literally the leaf we feed on;" and, therefore, no question can more vitally affect humanity than the character of the laws which deal with it. This is most signally illustrated in England, whose agricultural laborers are among the most degraded human beings on earth. This is the ripe fruit of her system of land-tenures. "Time was," says the *Westminster Review*, "when, at the call of the country, the yeomen of England rose and fought and conquered her liberties. Their degenerate descendants would be more likely to fight as hirelings for any form of slavery and superstition—if, indeed, they could be got to fight at all." It is as true of England, as of any country in Europe, that "the whole energy, and knowledge, and resources of the land are barreled up in the towns." Mr. Hoskyns, in his chapter on the land-laws of that country, says: "There is not a living animal connected with the farm, from the draught-team down to the sheep-dog, that is not better lodged and looked after than the laborer and his family." He is a slave. His condition is exactly described by the definition of a slave, as given in the old codes of the Carolinas, namely, "one doomed to live without knowledge, and without the capacity to make anything his own, and to toil that another may reap the fruits." Liberty implies opportunity, self-culture, the untrammeled development and use of the powers of a man; and all these are denied him. Land-monopoly, indeed,

is slavery. A government which allows the land to become the patrimony of the few cannot be free, for the simple reason that the landholders of every country are its masters. The most stupendous system of organized robbery which scourges the world is that which strips the poor of their natural inheritance in the soil.

Are we told that this question does not concern us in the United States, since we have no laws of primogeniture and entail, and no great monopolies handed down to us as the fruit of feudal times? We answer, that, through our large grants to railway corporations, our system of Indian treaties, our swamp-land legislation, our yet unforbidden curse of land-speculation, and other forms of maladministration, we are laying the foundations of a system of serfdom almost as fearful as that which now afflicts England. In several States of our Union there are single farms of a half-million acres; and even in old Massachusetts, where liberty and local self-government had their birth in her policy of small estates, the large farms are rapidly swallowing up the small ones, while a crouching tenantry, toiling under absentee landlords, bears witness at once to the decline of agriculture and the decay of freedom. If our popular system of government is to be preserved, nothing is more certain than that our land policy must be radically reformed. And it will not reform itself. Evolution will not meet the danger, for evil and ruin are evolved, as well as good, when unchecked by human endeavors. The false steps we have taken must be reversed in the interest of justice and the rights of the people. We need such agitators and reformers as Cobden and Mill, and such missionaries as Joseph Arch. What will our vaunted freedom be worth if we suffer the canker of great estates to eat away the life of our yeomanry? What refuge will be left for us against the unhealthy growth and fearful domination of our chief cities, if a great system of centralization in agriculture is to palsy the manhood of our "rural districts," and give us such a breed of cultivators as those of England? These questions demand an answer from every believer in democratic government. They take hold of our social well-being and our national life; for—

> "A bold peasantry, their country's pride,
> When once destroyed can never be supplied."

The reformer is needed in dealing with still another question. We have lately commemorated the nation's first centennial. We fitly honored the deeds of the famous men who declared that "taxation without representation is tyranny," and threw life, fortune, and honor, into the defense of this principle. It was the key-note and ceaseless battle-cry of their grand struggle. The right of the people who paid the taxes to be heard on the question of voting them was accepted as a self-evident truth. "They who have no voice nor vote," said Dr. Franklin, "in the selecting of representatives, do not enjoy liberty, but are absolutely enslaved to those who have votes." This is as self-evident as any truth in the great Declaration. A free government is one resting upon the free choice of the people, and every person having the power of choosing has an inborn and equal right to be heard, in person or by his representative, in the management of those public interests which concern him in common with all other citizens. Idiots, lunatics, infants, and criminals who have forfeited their right, are necessarily precluded from any share in the exercise of political power; but no other exceptions can be made consistently with the natural rights of man. An intelligent human being, innocent of crime, yielding his obedience to the government, answerable to it in his person and property for disobedience, and yet denied any political rights, is a slave. If this is not true, then nothing is true. But our fathers were not ready to apply this truth in its complete length and breadth. They did not perfectly keep step to the logic of their own avowed principles. They lived in the twilight of the political gospel they proclaimed, and scarcely dreamed of the high-noon of democracy which has since lighted up the political horizon. Accordingly, they withheld the ballot from the poor man on account of his poverty. This was done in all the States in the early years of the Government. As a nation, we have long since outgrown this folly. The negro was denied any share in the exercise of political power on account of the color of his skin, or that American prejudice which had been evolved from the institution of slavery. But slavery has perished, and the principles of our fathers have found another application in the conversion of the negro into a citizen and a voter. We have now no qualification for the ballot founded on race, or color, or property, or any educational requirement;

and yet we have twenty million citizens in the United States who are compelled to pay their taxes and obey the laws, while they are denied any share whatever in the exercise of political power. This is done because of their sex, and is as hateful and anti-republican a discrimination as can well be conceived. An aristocracy founded on it is quite as odious and absurd as an aristocracy founded on color, or race, or any other mere accident of humanity. It cannot be defended for a moment by any believer in democracy. In the name of justice and decency, what has sex to do with the question of moral or political right? But our purpose is not now to argue the question, but only to state it, and to rank it among the grand living issues yet to be tried by the people. How it will finally be decided is not a matter of the least doubt. Our exclusion of woman from politics will take its place among the curious and startling barbarisms of the past. It is true that as yet we are only midway on our journey to universal suffrage; but that journey will be completed, because any step backward will be as impossible as any pause where we are. We are constantly enlarging the sphere of woman's occupations. We are reforming our laws respecting her personal and property rights. We are providing for her a higher education, and thus recognizing her claim to equal rights. We have already made her a citizen, and in some of the States, and as to certain positions, she is entitled to vote and hold office. There is, and there can be, no abiding-place in her progress toward perfect political equality with man. When and how this goal shall be reached, must largely depend upon the labors and sacrifices of those who would speed the work; for the toils and struggles of the abolitionists might just as wisely have been renounced, as to surrender the cause of woman's enfranchisement to the tender mercies of social evolution.

Our space will only permit us to refer to one further task which invokes the helping hand of reform, and that is the total separation of our civil and ecclesiastical affairs. Our Protestant sects complain that the pope, as the vicegerent of God on earth, not only claims supreme authority over the consciences of men, but over all human governments, and thus assails civil liberty as well as religious. They say it was the Catholic Church which defeated Mr. Gladstone's Education Bill, and inspired the Franco-

German War, while it is striving to prevent the unification of Germany, and blocking up the way of struggling liberalism in France and Spain. They affirm that this same power is waging war against our common schools, and endeavoring, by sapping and mining, to intrench itself in the United States; and that it believes our free institutions offer a better soil for the growth of its principles than the centralized governments of Europe, while plotting the overthrow of our liberty through its vast and well-drilled army of Jesuits. How shall we deal with this alleged raid upon civilization and progress? Social evolution will not meet the danger, for that has brought it to our doors, and seems to be constantly giving it strength. Shall we appeal to sectarian animosities, and array Protestantism against Catholicism in deadly strife? The thought of such a struggle between a great centralized power, always acting as a unit, and warring sects which could never be effectively rallied under a common banner, is not to be entertained for a moment. The question is not so much one of sects, or religions, as of constitutional liberty, vitally affecting the rights of all men. The Government of the United States is neither Protestant nor Catholic. It is not even Christian, Washington himself being our witness; nor is it Jewish, Mohammedan, or pagan. The Government rightfully has nothing to do with religion, and religion has nothing to do with the Government. The state has no more right to teach religion than the church has to assume the functions of the state. Our only safe ground, therefore, is the total secularization of our politics. The "concubinage of church and state" must be utterly destroyed. On this principle all can stand, irrespective of religious faith. While the state is bound to protect all men in the unmolested enjoyment of their religious opinions, it must stand entirely aloof from any sort of espousal of any form of faith. This is our safeguard against ecclesiastical domination, whether Catholic or Protestant.

And this will require an amendment of the Constitution of the United States. It declares that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," and thus places the national Government in its true position; but the individual States are left entirely free in dealing with this question. They may make the Catholic faith

or that of any Protestant sect the state religion, and levy taxes for the support of it upon those who conscientiously disbelieve in its creed. The union of church and state, which our fathers repudiated in the national Constitution, may thus be established in defiance of the rights of conscience, as was systematically done in all the colonies save one during the period of the Revolution and at the beginning of the Government. Some of them required all officers of the State to be of the Protestant faith; and even at this day religious tests are prescribed in several of them as conditions of holding office, by which the choice of fit men for the public service is foolishly restricted. In violation of the principles of our fathers, the church property of both Catholics and Protestants is exempted from taxation, thus indirectly compelling Jews, Mohammedans, theists, atheists, and freethinkers, to contribute to the support of a religion which they disbelieve, and violating the rights of conscience, which, to every reflecting man, are even more precious than the right to liberty or life. A constitutional amendment has recently been proposed in the Senate of the United States, which, if adopted, will recognize the Bible in our public schools by "divine right," and forever protect church property in its present unjust exemption; and this amendment lacked only a few votes of the two-thirds required to pass it. The growth of the ecclesiastical spirit is still further manifested by another proposed amendment, emanating from an organization called the "National Reform Association," providing for the "acknowledgment of Almighty God as the source of all authority in civil government, of the Lord Jesus Christ as the ruler of nations, and his revealed will as of supreme authority." Should this be adopted, the union of church and state would be complete, and "appropriate legislation" for the disfranchisement and punishment of heretics would undoubtedly follow. The only true remedy for these threatened dangers is the absolute divorce of civil and ecclesiastical authority. There is no middle ground on which we can stand. "Our Constitution must be changed to suit our practices, or our practices must be changed to suit our Constitution." It must be on one side or the other, and the attempt to place it on both will prove as fruitless, and it may be as disastrous, as was the effort to make our Government "half slave and half free." We oppose and denounce the assaults

of the Catholic Church upon our common schools as a monstrous interference with purely secular affairs; but our own sense of consistency and self-respect should compel us forthwith to exclude the Bible from those schools, and thus deprive that hierarchy of a very convenient and weighty apology for its course. The policy of the Catholic Church, so far as it makes itself the ally of ignorance and superstition, must be resolutely resisted; but that resistance can best be made by jealously maintaining civil liberty, and insisting upon a well-organized system of common schools and compulsory secular education. In thus standing by the equal religious rights of American citizens, we shall be invincible; for liberty and popular intelligence are the deadly enemies of every form of ecclesiastical usurpation, as they are the impregnable bulwarks of our democratic institutions. In seeking our purpose through an amendment of the Constitution, we cherish no hostility to State rights, but only an overmastering devotion to human rights. We cherish no hostility whatever to any form of religion, but would protect and defend all religions under equal laws. Nor do we fear sectarian wrangles and divisions as the result of the principles for which we contend. On the contrary, we confidently predict perpetual peace through the final removal of the chief causes of strife; and our grand aim can only fail through the criminal recreancy of the people themselves to the teachings of our fathers and the pregnant warnings of history.

And here we close our protest against the baleful heresy which has served us for our text. In confounding the distinction between physical and social evolution, it tends to confound the distinction between right and wrong. It threatens to dethrone conscience, and substitute development for duty. It exchanges liberty for necessity, and thus deals with humanity as a factor in mechanics. By committing all social questions to the working of inevitable laws, it disparages the value of human character, and trifles with human responsibility. It weakens the very foundations of virtue by belittling the motives which inspire it. It unduly exalts the intellect, and makes the follies and mistakes of good men an excuse for tearing down the sanctuary of the heart. Its ugly footprints are already visible on the other side of the Atlantic, in the halting steps of special reforms, and the growing indisposition of Government to deal with great social questions

over which its jurisdiction is clear. This is true in a measure of our own country, while the moral felonies which blacken our politics and defile the name of religion have their root, to some extent, in the same soil. This deadly mildew of modern life, this dry-rot of moral unbelief which would wither the leaf and flower of virtue, must be arrested, if we would escape social stagnation and spiritual death. We speak earnestly, because we feel deeply, when we say that by all means we must keep alive our faith in virtue, in the preciousness of character, and in personal responsibility; for, without this faith, men will content themselves with coddling their own worldly comfort, and turning every good cause adrift, while we shall be left without God and without hope in the world.

GEORGE W. JULIAN.

IV.

THE READJUSTMENT OF VOCATIONS.

The central fact in civil society is the division of labor. All social questions must be studied with reference to it. It is not wonderful that the first people that obtained an insight into its potency as a means of elevation of man over matter and over brute necessity, should have ascribed to it a divine origin and invented an elaborate code of laws to preserve it. Such is the caste system of India—the division of labor elevated to a divine ordination, and the distinctions of caste from caste made as rigid as the distinctions of species from species among animals—indeed, more rigid than some Darwinians make them.

Looked at from this point of view of caste as an apotheosis of the divison of labor, we may describe all human history, from India down to the United States, as a gradual emancipation from the tyranny of caste, the elimination of the element of social fate from the destiny of the individual. The progress of history is toward the point where birth shall not determine the destiny of the coming man. Society shall guarantee to all the possibility of a free career and the development of an ideal type of manhood.

But in our reaction against caste we are apt to forget its rational basis—the fact that it represents the division of labor, which is the foundation of spiritual life. Only by means of social combination is man able to lift himself above the brute. Through and by means of society, man is able to add to his life as an individual—that is, as an animal—another and higher life—the life of his species—a spiritual life. The life of the individual is one of selfishness and immediate gratification; but social life is everywhere a devotion of the individual to the service of others, and, at the same time, a participation in the common fund of service thereby created. This will appear in a more detailed statement. Man shares with the lower animals—at least to some extent—the

wants of food, clothing, and shelter. An exclusive devotion to the gratification of these wants is slavery. The direct gratification itself is an animal function, and thoroughly selfish in its origin and in its object. But the social organism works a miracle of transformation here. It directs the energies of each and every individual away from himself, and causes him to labor for others. In return for his labor it allows him to participate in the common fund of production created by the labor of all as individuals. Division of labor is thus the first great spiritual instrumentality for the elevation of man above the selfishness of the life of the beast. Instead of laboring directly for his own gratification, the individual man shall work at a special vocation and produce, not what he needs for his direct consumption, but what his fellow-men need in society. This is the filter which eliminates brute selfishness. All men as individuals contribute their mites to the great aggregate which society stores up and displays in its market of the world. For his mite she gives to each individual a stamped token of general or universalized property, called money, and by this means he is enabled to procure, in such proportions as he wills, a certain definite amount of all the productions that the human race has contributed to the world's market.

His deed—the day's labor—had been to produce a special article—a pair of boots, a pile of boards, a basket of fish. If directly appropriated for his own enjoyment, there would have been only an exercise of animal selfishness; but he plied his vocation for the benefit of others and not directly for himself. His labor for others is not animal selfishness. He has to prefer his general or universal self—the self of society or humanity—and to contribute his mite to its wants before he can receive his draft on the general market for the means to supply his varied wants. This device of society for purifying man from the selfishness of direct gratification, and for turning his direct labor into service of others and thus securing a preference of his general human self over his bodily animal self, is divine in its origin and purpose, and divine in its results. It is the true road to freedom from servitude to Nature. The steps to realize this freedom are these:

1. First there comes by division of labor a concentration of all the powers of the individual upon his vocation, and hence the de-

velopment of deftness or skill. The vocation becomes permanent, and is no longer intermittent because of the season of the year or the change of human needs. With the development of skill come increase of productivity and progressive emancipation of man from physical drudgery. Each member of society produces ten times as much as he could have done as an isolated savage; each member of society enjoys not only the productions of his immediate habitat and season and climate, but, through the mediation of the world's market, he enjoys those of all parts of the globe—of all climates and all seasons. And he shares in the world's productions at a far less expenditure of bodily strength than would have been necessary to him as a savage to secure the enjoyment of the scanty variety of his own habitat.

2. But this is only the beginning of the fruition of society. Being compelled to combine with his fellow-men for bodily subsistence, he is educated by social intercourse. He must subdue his untamed appetites, and realize in himself a morally-ordered will. He communicates his individual experience to his fellows, and in turn receives a knowledge of the life-experience of others. Thus he becomes a moral person and acquires wisdom.

3. In the distribution of food, clothing, and shelter, there is a miraculous increase in the amount of goods received in exchange, the individual giving his poor contribution and in turn being admitted to the market of the world and sharing the products of all climes, and the labors of myriads of men.

So, likewise, in the social interchange of the experience of mankind—the poor individual gets back for his beggarly crumb the aggregate experience of the human race preserved since the dawn of civilization and transmitted entire for each individual—without that division or diminution which is necessary in the realm of food, clothing, and shelter.

The wisdom of the race is not diminished but increased by being shared. This is the social realization of that deep mystery of religion—the doctrine of grace. The individual's puny effort is scarcely more than a recognition of his dependence upon society, and his humble prayer to be permitted to participate in its bounty.

What he receives as a so-called *quid pro quo* for his daily labor, transcends so immensely the amount of individual strength

realized in his own contribution as to render that in comparison a gift of free grace.

Participation in a common life—the life of the social whole—is the essential characteristic of spiritual life as contradistinguished from animal life; the realization of the social life in firm, enduring institutions, and the elevation of all individuals into a conscious participation in this life, is the object of man as an ethical being.

While seeking the gratification of physical wants—food, clothing, and shelter—the institutions of society compel man not only to put on the form and semblance of disinterested service of others, but they compel him to spiritual intercommunication, and the moral and intellectual growth which results from it.

In subduing his appetites and caprices for the sake of combination with his fellow-men, the individual comes to realize the moral image which is in him as a possibility. In giving to his crude fancies and opinions such forms as make them intelligible to other people, he comes to be a thinking being, and to know truth.

The whole process of culture consists in availing one's self of the experience of the race—the substitution of general forms of will, i. e., moral forms, for the caprice and arbitrariness of the natural (or savage) man—the reënforcing of the insight and knowledge gained from the experience of one individual by the experience and insight of all men in all ages.

The social organism which renders this grand result possible is therefore founded on the division of labor. Bearing this in mind, let us now study the opposite tendency.

Division of labor demands for its existence a population living in towns, and a prŏsperous commerce with the producers of raw material. Hence it happens that in a new settlement or an agricultural country, division of labor begins at a minimum, and grows only in proportion to the growth of towns and the rise of a flourishing commerce.

The laborer cannot afford to isolate his work and concentrate all of his energies upon the production of a single thing, unless commerce will enable him to find a ready market for it, and furnish him in turn with the variety needed to supply his own wants.

Hence the pioneer is the type of civilized man in whom is to

be found the farthest remove from the caste system. The hunter, the herdsman, the primitive farmer, for the most part produce their own food, clothing, and shelter. So it is with the adventurous Argonaut who seeks new gold-fields. The cramp of his guild or trade, which has perhaps grown strong in his blood by hereditary descent for twenty generations—as in the case of the Sheffield knife-grinders—is soon obliterated in his descendants settled in Australia or California.

In the ripest forms of division of labor, the man degenerates into an abstraction, as it were, of his total self—a shred of humanity. Losing all versatility he becomes a machine, and can perform his task with a minimum of intelligent concentration of mind. Here it happens that an extreme produces its own reaction. Division of labor produces great skill; this results in great productivity, and this again in competence and leisure for general culture. With general culture comes the capacity to devise means and instrumentalities to secure results. Hence precisely at the point where man becomes the nearest like a machine, there occurs the opportunity most auspicious for the invention of unconscious machinery to supply his place.

Having reduced, by minute division, the manipulation necessary in each process to its simplest form, it is possible with a rude device to make one of the forces of Nature perform this process, while the human machine is set entirely free as mere hand-laborer, and is retained merely as directive intelligence to supervise the machinery.

The first rude devices of machinery are quickly replaced by others better adapted for their work. But the most important thing to notice is that a synthetic or combining tendency manifests itself here. The secondary stage of machinery unites two or more simple machines into a complex one. Although continued simplification goes on as regards the machinery for performing elementary processes, the combination of simple machines into one is the important characteristic of progress.

By the first series of machines—the simple ones which perform only one process—there is already great gain in productivity. The mere hand-laborer is thrown out of employment—a few only of the most intelligent are retained as supervisors and directors of the machines. The art of "learning the trade" is also very

much simplified—the system of long apprenticeship is abolished. While it took seven years of laborious service by the old hand-process to acquire the delicacy of manipulation requisite to produce the standard quality of manufacture, it now requires only a few weeks to learn to produce a better quality by the agency of a machine. It requires, however, greater breadth of intelligence. This result goes on with constant acceleration in connection with the second series of machines—those which combine simpler machines into complex ones. With this there is a still greater increase of productivity, and a much vaster exodus of human laborers no longer needed. There is likewise a process of change in the *personnel* of the laborers who are retained. The nearer to the primitive craftsman, the greater is the ascent of physical strength and dexterity over mental cultivation and versatility. But the more complex the machinery becomes, the greater becomes the versatility required, and the less important the physical strength and dexterity. Hence we find the tendency to employ women as laborers in the place of men in a greater variety of occupations. The broad contrast between the vocation of woman and that of man in the age of the greatest division of labor has, therefore, a tendency to vanish in our age of the invention of machinery. Woman no longer finds sole occupation for her versatility within the family circle, but enters the domain of civil society, and finds an increasing demand for her qualities of service — delicacy and versatility rather than strength and persistency.

The outcome of this age of invention of labor-saving machinery is, therefore, seen to be perpetual elimination of the great multitude of least intelligent and least versatile laborers. With this, there is a continual increase of production also, and a consequent cheapening of the products. Looking at these results from a general point of view, one can see that man advances in the conquest of Nature—being able to utilize more and more of Nature, and becoming progressively capable of employing the forces of Nature in elaborating the matter of Nature.

For all who investigate social problems and seek their solution, the chief interest lies in this perpetual elimination (or throwing out of employment) of laborers from each guild or vocation, a process which keeps pace with the progress of invention. It is

not the preservation of caste that concerns us, but this frightful method of breaking it down.

The laboring population, educated on the old basis of division of labor, learns its trade, and is able to earn a comfortable living at it. Hereditary descent of tendencies makes the children more skillful than the parents. But suddenly an invention is wrought out by some fertile mind which places in competition with the human machines a machine made of brass and iron, which can far excel in power of production and in uniformity of its quality the former. The adoption of the new machinery gives employment to one in a hundred of the former laborers; a few, who have no other resource, struggle on in a vain attempt to compete with the new, but are soon forced to starve. There is no resource left for the many except to seek some other vocation. But the readjustment will not be found until after the pain resulting from poverty, disease, worry, and crime, has decimated their ranks. The laborers thus rudely jostled from their life-vocation are not the only ones who suffer. The pauper and criminal class share their punishment with the social whole that permits them to fall into temptation. Their life is anæsthetic in its effects upon them, and they endure their lot with little pain, while the rest of society is keenly sensitive to the wounds inflicted by these unfortunates.

In view of the evils at present caused by the necessity of readjustment of vocations, we ask, "What is the remedy?"

Leaving out of view the modifying influences of trade and finance, the various ameliorations and reliefs afforded by charities and noble benefactions, it must be evident that there are two great remedies: the first, that of affording facilities for migration; the second, that of educating the people to versatility and easy readjustment of vocation. Neither of these remedies is sufficient by itself. Migration is necessary and desirable under all circumstances. This we have seen from the fact that invention has diminished, and constantly diminishes, the number required to perform a given amount of manufacturing or exchange. There is increase also of production of the raw material, but invention does not so readily affect that department of industry. Large numbers of people, cast on shore by the fluctuations of mechanic industry, must seek new homes on the border-land.

Sometimes there are special political and financial perturbations which heighten the necessity for this movement. Such special causes we have ourselves witnessed in this country. Thirteen years ago our productive industry received a shock by the sudden conversion of the energies of a million of able-bodied men from the arts of war to the arts of peace—from the arts of destruction to the arts of production. So great and so sudden a change could not transpire without disastrous consequences to civil and political society.

Physicians tell us that the sudden healing of long-seated chronic diseases is apt to overthrow the health. Dyspepsia thus cured may result in consumption, or in heart-disease. By the recently much-discussed law of the transmutation of energies, it would be expected that the sudden removal of obstacles, upon which the larger part of the organic energies had been gradually concentrated, would be liable to divert these energies to some other parts of the system, and for a while arouse it to preternatural activity, in a brief period to be followed by reaction and disease.

During our civil war there had been going on a development of the application of machinery to productive industry such as we had never before witnessed. In 1865 the products of industry, as furnished by our people, far surpassed the aggregate of production in 1860. This happened when the energies of two millions of able-bodied men were utterly withdrawn from useful labor. These two millions of men were not merely non-producers, they were destroyers, on the grandest scale, of the fruits of industry. There is no waste like that of war. It is conflagration heightened by the assistance of human fury. Where there was such a waste there was a corresponding demand for the products of industry, and the remnant of laborers felt a demand for their services such as they had not until now experienced. It was like the upward suction in the vortex of a tornado. Persons who, in ordinary times of peace, had not found themselves able to elbow their way into comfortable subsistence, now could amass wealth without great seeking for opportunities. The aid of human industry by labor-saving machinery gave to the popular mind a consciousness of the invincible might of spirit over Nature, and over the accidents of history which prevent

individual and social progress; even the most despairing conservatives began to give way to the intoxication, and become violent radicals.

In 1865 the waste of products of industry by war suddenly ceased, and at the same time a million of strong men returned to peaceful industry and augmented the national productions, while the home market for those productions had, in a large measure, decreased by the cessation of war. For yet a few years manufacturing industry exerted itself by means of its immense accumulation of capital to find new markets at home and abroad. It built forty thousand miles of new railway, and thus created transit facilities in advance of the actual demands of society.

This struggle ended with the financial crash of 1873. The distant consumers, newly reached by the railroad and made participators in the commercial exchange of raw material for manufactured products (the great social industrial process that unites all civilized mankind), became distrustful and ceased to buy the merchant's wares; the backwoodsmen and agricultural population returned to supplying their wants with home-made productions. Then the era of financial disaster set in—it lasts still—and the rapidly-made fortunes of the eras of prosperity are being as rapidly dissipated.

The tides of migration, which were high before 1860, had nearly ceased to flow in 1873, and an actual return of emigrants had set in. There was no work for the new laborer. Even a small return of emigrants operates disastrously upon the older communities. It effects the twofold result of diminishing the market for its productions and of overstocking its supply of laborers; this causes hard times and depression in the hopes of the people; enforced idleness and beggary, loss of self-respect, and crime, continue to increase in such a condition of affairs. The effects of migration, on the other hand, are these:

1. Those who migrate to the wilderness have constant employment for all their time; they must build houses and break up the soil; they are stimulated to their best efforts because every stroke of work tells; they see every week before their eyes the results of last week's toil.

2. Before they migrated they were working on half-time, perhaps; they had lost their property, and were compelled to see

their weekly toil yield small visible results. There were drudgery and discomfort in their old home—now there are enterprise and hope, here in the new settlement.

3. Again, the effect of migration is good at both ends of the line. The old community was overstocked with labor, and there was too little demand for its products. After the migration has taken place, there is more work for each person to do in the old community; hence wages rise there, and enterprise increases; moreover, the demand for productions increases by reason of the market created in the new settlements on the border-land.

There is as much excitement and romance attending the formation of a new settlement as there is in attending a hunting-party, a voyage of exploration, or a crusade. The feeling of discovery; the spectacle of wealth created out of crude possibilities; the realization of the mighty power which the social bond gives to the individual in his contest with Nature—all these gladden the hearts of the new settlers. They see their land increase in value manifold within a few weeks. Property is increased in value by the mere fact of the presence of people far more than by the actual amount of physical labor expended on it.

Migration is the great available means of present readjustment of vocations. It says to the citizen who falls out of his place in the line of productive industry: "Go to the foot of the line and begin again. Engage in the exciting task of building up civilization in an empty wilderness, and you and your children shall thrive once more." The tonic effect of a residence on the border-land is so potent that it deserves to be applied as a remedy in numerous social distempers. In fact, a regular circulation should be kept up between the centre and circumference. A border-land is a perennial incident to civilization; no matter how large the circle of civilization, the pioneer-process is always to be found on its circumference.

But migration does not solve the question definitively; indeed, migration itself presupposes some versatility obtained by general theoretical culture of the schools. It is obvious that the best chances will be for that immigrant who comes with a knowledge of school-learning. Education is manifestly the most potent means of preparing in advance for the ready readjustment of the laborer in a new vocation. Any general preparation of the

laborer for his calling will give him versatility, and contribute to his ability to adapt himself to whatever change may transpire in his fortunes. The general education begun in our common schools, and continued in our academies, high-schools, and colleges, is undoubtedly capable of the widest practical application, and best fits one for readjusting his vocation in life. The more special the education the less it fits the individual for this change. But we must not conclude from this that branches less general in their nature than those ordinarily taught in our schools should not be introduced into the curriculum—quite the contrary. While claiming that the studies of our common schools are the most practical of elementary studies, it is possible to introduce disciplines which point to mechanical vocations, without in the least injuring the old course of study.

Industrial education—specially so called—has or should have its place in our common schools and high-schools as an additional safeguard against disaster in the process of readjustment, which must go on uninterrupted among the American laboring-population. It should partly precede and partly follow, as well as accompany, the general course of study in the common school:

1. There is first a most carefully-devised scheme, laying a foundation for industrial skill in general, before the pupil is mature enough to take up the studies of the general curriculum of the common school. Froebel's Kindergarten takes the child at four years of age—while his muscles are yet unformed—and disciplines them in such a way that they will have for all after-life the special development which gives skill in manipulation. While it does not neglect the child's imagination nor his manners, it lays a good foundation for skill in the use of the hand and eye, and in the first theoretical steps in form and number.

2. Drawing is the chief industrial study in the common school proper; and, if taught thoroughly in all its departments, it will nearly suffice for the general training of the hand and eye, such as is indispensable in most of the arts and trades.

3. Finally, the institution called "school-shops" creates versatility within the range of mechanical industries. It is in this "school-shop" that the pupil learns the theory and practice of tools in general; and a boy well trained in a "school-shop" would learn the mysteries of a special trade in a month, and would

go forth into the world of industry able to readjust himself if any untoward accident happened to his special vocation.

Although art-education is allied to industrial education, the two are not identical; art-education is the training which fits one for the appreciation and production of the beautiful—as ornament or as free art. It is obvious that a large portion of the labor set free by the increased productivity of new mechanical inventions should not be forced to migrate, but should remain and devote itself to the ornamentation of the manufactured products. Further elaboration, higher degree of finish, should add greatly to the market value without increasing the bulk. This is the process described as the enhancing of values by mixing brains with the manufactured products. To add beauty to mere use increases the market value. The money paid for ornament is astonishingly out of proportion to that paid for mere use. The retention at home here in the United States of the money sent abroad to France, England, or Italy, for various forms of ornament would go far to enrich those superfluous workmen who fall out of their vocations by reason of inability to adapt themselves to changes.

With a perfect system of readjustment of vocations, it is obvious that the progress of mechanic invention brings with it emancipation from physical labor, and the opportunity for each and all to ascend in the direction of those vocations having for their end the direct ministration to the spiritual wants of man. The artisan will give place for the artist in each department of industry. The vocations devoted to obtaining natural productions, to their elaboration (manufacturing), to their exchange and distribution, and to the public protection, are destined to employ mankind in a gradually decreasing ratio; while those vocations which are devoted to human nurture and education, to the Church, to the reflection of human life through artistic and literary productions, and to pure science, will be followed by an increasing number of people.

William T. Harris.

V.

CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM.

The recent changes in the New York Custom-House, where more than seventy per cent. of our customs revenue is collected, have brought again to the front reform in the civil service, and present a new phase in its progress.

In December last the Senate refused, by the vote (as reported) of thirty-one to twenty-five, to confirm the nomination as Collector of the late Theodore Roosevelt of honored memory, who was understood to be in perfect accord with the President's policy, in place of General Chester A. Arthur, who had been Collector since 1871, and who was known to regard it with less approval. That vote of the Senate, whatever the varying motives that induced it, blocked the President's plan by placing him in the position of a general whose corps-commanders were in sympathy with the enemy, and openly at variance with their chief.

The exercise by the President, since the adjournment of the Senate, of his constitutional right to remove and appoint during a recess, has given him for the first time in New York a Collector of his own choice: and the appointment shows that his temporary acquiescence in the rejection of Mr. Roosevelt implied neither alarm nor indifference, least of all an abandonment of his pledges.

His appointment of General Merritt and Colonel Burt will hardly be cited to prove that "want of will-power" which has been so freely attributed to Mr. Hayes by his enemies, and perhaps sometimes by his impatient friends. It has encouraged, on the contrary, the high hope that the velvet glove conceals the iron hand; and that with the gentle courtesy of the President is blended the firm resolve, in view of the temper and strength of the opposition both Republican and Democratic, to exert his constitutional authority, during the remainder of his term, with

a prompt and judicious vigor that may redeem past mistakes and past delays, and secure, however severe the struggle, the due execution of the laws and the honest collection of the national revenue.

But the task of the President—who is happily free from suspicion of aiming at a second term—involves the permanent reform of the service; and that requires congressional legislation to secure appointments by merit, and a tenure dependent on good behavior.

This work, therefore, for which but two and a half years are left to the Administration, demands all the tact and skill of the President and of the statesmen who compose the cabinet, to enlist the representatives of the culture, the commerce, and the industry of the country in a common effort, to prevent the Government from hopelessly degenerating into an oligarchy of politicians, maintaining themselves by patronage and plunder.

The honorable and intelligent members of both Houses must recognize the exigencies and dangers that confront us. They know that our Indian troubles, with their waste of heroic life and treasure, result from the peculations and bad faith of our own agents. They are aware that the terrible burdens imposed by the civil war have been year by year increased by official folly, imbecility, and crime. They see the popular discontent threatening disorder and the Commune, stimulated by the thought that the hard sufferings of the poor are intensified by the wrongful conversion of the Government to the enrichment of its partisans.

Our honest and patriotic Congressmen, whatever their politics or preferences, may well hasten to unite in some effective scheme to protect the civil service from spoliation and collusion; especially when they recall the picture presented by Colonel Mosby, who, anticipating the possible return of the Democrats to power, said that they would come to Washington "as fierce as famine and as hungry as the grave!"

The question of reform in the New York Custom-House, whatever its special interests, which can hardly be exaggerated, for that city and State, concerns the whole country in connection with our imports, exports, duties, and revenue; and its bearings extend to the entire civil service.

Astute observers are agreed that it cannot be excluded from

the presidential canvass; and that, whatever other issues may present themselves, the question how far the Republican party, under President Hayes, has honestly fulfilled the pledges which it gave at Cincinnati, is one that cannot be avoided; and for that party it would seem clear that the only possibility of success rests upon its fidelity to the work of reform.

The position of the President was defined in his note to Mr. Secretary Sherman, May 26, 1877:

"I concur with the Commission in their recommendations. It is my wish that the collection of the revenue should be free from partisan control, and organized on a strictly business basis, with the same guarantees for efficiency and fidelity in the selection of the chief and subordinate officers that would be required by a prudent merchant. Party leaders should have no more influence in appointments than other equally respectable citizens. No assessments for political purposes on officers should be allowed. No useless officer or employé should be retained. No officer should be required or permitted to take part in the management of political organizations, caucuses, conventions, or election campaigns. Their right to vote and to express their views on public questions, either orally or through the press, is not denied, provided it does not interfere with the discharge of their official duties."

The counter-views of Collector Arthur appear from his letter, in November, 1877, to Mr. Secretary Sherman, reviewing the first four reports of the Investigating Commission. Before quoting the letter, it may assist in a survey of the political situation on this subject, to recall some of the features of the civil service at the close of the Democratic and pro-slavery *régime* in 1861, and of the fluctuations of civil-service reform during the rule of the Republican party for the last seventeen years. Events with us move rapidly, and, with the lessons they should teach, are too rapidly forgotten. Our countrymen do not always appreciate the importance of preserving an accurate memory of political events as they occur, and of recognizing in the department of facts and statistics what Sir George Lewis calls "the entrance and propylæa to politics."

Our recollections of Mr. Buchanan's Administration are connected with the desperate attempt to force slavery into Kansas; and later, when the rebellion came, the bad faith on the part of

the Administration toward the people of the United States, when the Treasury was emptied, forts, arsenals, and navy-yards, were surrendered, arms and munitions stolen and destroyed, and our little navy scattered and disabled—presenting a picture of governmental treachery unrivaled in its extent and unapproachable in the darkness of its shadows. That picture, so vividly recalled by the name of Buchanan, has dimmed the memory of the official corruption under his Administration, which had previously startled the American people, and aroused the wonder of the world.

In the teeth of the Constitution, of the law of the land, and the sentiment of Christendom, the African slave-trade was reopened beneath the spire of Trinity, on so large a scale that New York presently became, in the words of the London *Times*, "the greatest slave-trade mart in the world." The New York *World* of July 31, 1860, declared that "nearly a hundred slavers have been fitted out from this port within the last eighteen months;" and Mr. Seward, in the Senate, admitted that the African slave-trade was an American trade, and that its root was in the city of New York.

Passing the period of the war, we find that the scum of venality and corruption had come largely to the surface, while the country, exhausted by its struggles, reposed in the confidence of success. When, in 1868, General Grant was called from the command of the army to the Executive chair, so thoroughly unsatisfactory had become the condition of the civil service that in his second message he said, "The elevation and the purification of the civil service of the Government will be hailed with approval by the whole people of the United States."

In March, 1871, a law was enacted authorizing the President, with the aid of persons selected by himself, to put in operation rules and regulations for carrying a civil-service reform into effect. The Commission appointed was headed by the Hon. George William Curtis, and their report announced a loss of startling magnitude when it said, "It is calculated, by those who have made a careful study of all the facts, that one-fourth of the revenue of the United States is annually lost in the collection." In December, 1871, the report was transmitted to Congress by special message; and the President said, "If left to me, without further congressional action, the rules presented by the Commission, under the reservation already mentioned, will be faithfully executed."

Congress approved the rules reported by making an appropriation; the power of civil-service reform in the canvass was recognized by the Republican, the Liberal Republican, the Democratic, and the National Reform Conventions; and, after the success of the Republicans with their repeated pledges, there came the abandonment of the work by the President, and the consequent resignation of Mr. Curtis.

What General Grant's reform might have done for the country, had he maintained in the cabinet the same tenacity he had shown in the field, is a question which, perhaps, future historians will ask. What his abandonment of reform did for the party which had chosen him as its chief, history teaches us to-day, and the record is significant:

Grant in 1868 had	214	electoral votes,		Seymour 71.
Grant " 1872 "	286	"		Greeley (dead).
Hayes " 1876 "	185	"		Tilden 184.

The Republican majority of 143 votes in 1868 came down to a majority of one in 1876, although it is but fair to say that expert politicians attribute a part of this loss—some fix it at forty votes—to intimidation and violence in the Southern States.

Why President Grant made a surrender so disappointing to the hopes of the nation, so fraught with evil to the country, so ruinous to the Republican party, and so fatal to his own fame, has never been satisfactorily explained. "The humiliating truth is," said Mr. Eaton, "that the defeat and abandonment of the civil-service rules was without justifiable excuse, involved a breach of public pledges, and was a national disgrace."

After that abandonment, eminent men who had been associated with the Republicans for years passed over to the ranks of the Democracy, whose chief, Governor Tilden, declared that "the question of honest administration and the question of securing official accountability were the great questions of the future."

A striking glance at some of the less pleasing features of the country at this period was given by Mr. Senator Hoar, whose ability, scholarship, and character, for a time, lent dignity to the cabinet of General Grant. In the impeachment of General Belknap for corrupt practices as Secretary of War, the Senator said: "My own public life has been a very brief and insignificant one, extending little beyond the duration of a single term of

senatorial office. But in that brief period I have seen five judges of a high court of the United States driven from office by threats of impeachment for corruption and maladministration. I have heard the taunt from friendliest lips that when the United States presented herself in the East to take part with the civilized world in generous competition in the arts of life, the only product in which she surpassed all others beyond question was her corruption. I have seen, in the State in the Union foremost in power and wealth, four judges of her courts impeached for corruption, and the administration of her chief city become a disgrace and a by-word throughout the world. I have seen the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs in the House, now a distinguished member of this court, rise in his place and demand the expulsion of four of his associates, for making sale of their official privilege of selecting the youths to be educated at our great military school. When the greatest railroad of the world, binding together this continent and uniting the two seas which wash our shores, was finished, I have seen our national triumph and exultation turned to bitterness and shame by the unanimous reports of three committees of Congress—two of the House and one here—that every step of that mighty enterprise had been taken in fraud. I have heard in highest places the shameless doctrines avowed, by men grown old in public office, that the true way by which power should be gained in the republic is to bribe the people with the offices created for their service; and that the true end for which it should be used when gained is the promotion of selfish ambition, and the gratification of personal revenge. I have heard that suspicion haunts the footsteps of the trusted companions of the President.

"These things have passed into history. The Hallam or the Tacitus or the Sismondi or the Macaulay who writes the annals of our time, will record them with his inexorable pen."

The sadly solemn warning of the Senator of Massachusetts has been echoed from beyond the sea.

"The high offices of the state," said the London *Quarterly Review*, "have been largely filled by such adventurers as we described; hence the corruption, the sale of offices, the unblushing bribery which have fixed an indelible stigma upon the Administration of General Grant."

"Personally," said the *Nineteenth Century*, after referring to some of the scandals of Grant's second term—the Washington ring, the accessories of the whiskey ring, and the complicity with fraud in the War Department—"personally, the character of the Administration sank lower and lower."

The *Fortnightly Review*, drawing a distinction generously stated, and not to be overlooked, said, "The corruption and general discredit which lowered the reputation of the United States under the Administration of General Grant were alarming, but they were certainly not the outcome of any corruption in the nation at large."

Here is the idea, confidently stated by General Grant, that the American people desire the elevation and purification of the civil service; and that idea was embodied in the platform on which Mr. Hayes was nominated and elected. The President took his seat in March, 1877, and during the next month of April Mr. Secretary Sherman organized a Commission to examine into the New York Custom-House, composed of Messrs. John Jay, Lawrence Turnure, and J. H. Robinson. Their sittings after the first two or three days were held in public, and the testimony taken was more or less fully reported and commented upon. The examination was conducted chiefly by Mr. Robinson, the learned and experienced Assistant Solicitor of the Treasury, and Mr. Turnure, the well-known and accomplished member of the firm of Moses Taylor & Co.; and the familiarity of these gentlemen with the minutest details of the service contributed to the ease and thoroughness of the investigation. The Secretary, while indicating the subjects of the inquiry, advised the Commission that the object of their appointment was "not to examine into the conduct of the present officers, but into the present system." This instruction enabled the Commission to receive the officers with frank courtesy, not as men on whom they were to sit in judgment, but as gentlemen conversant with the workings of the system, and able and willing to favor the Commission with their suggestions for its improvement.

The Secretary had asked the heads of the departments to give the Commission their cordial assistance in pursuing the inquiries. Such assistance and advice were courteously and constantly given by the Collector, as well as by the Naval Officer, the Sur-

veyor, the Appraiser, deputy-collectors, heads of departments, and chief clerks; so that, of some ninety witnesses, about seventy were custom-house officials and experts; and the appendices to the reports contain various documents furnished by the Collector, with the exception of one which General Arthur speaks of as having been suppressed, but which miscarried on its way to Mr. Robinson at Washington. The Commission had also the benefit of suggestions made privately and in letters from more than two hundred mercantile firms, whose names they were not at liberty to quote; but the chief facts on which they based the reports, reviewed by the Collector, were furnished by that gentleman and his leading associates.

These conspicuous features of the investigation seem, curiously enough, to have escaped General Arthur's recollection when he suggests in his letter that the Commission "were in effect sitting in judgment" upon the chief officers of the customs; when he complains that "no opportunity was given to cross-examine the witnesses or to show the spirit which animated them;" and when he complains again that the Commission had failed to furnish him with evidence "of misconduct on the part of any subordinates." All three suggestions are disposed of by the plain instructions of Mr. Secretary Sherman.

General Arthur further remarks that "a reference to the testimony will show, however, that the prominent and honorable merchants of this port made no complaints against the administration of the laws during the last five years." But this assertion seems a little broad, for General Arthur will hardly pretend to exclude from the class of "prominent and honorable merchants" the gentlemen who represented "the American silk-trade," or those who appeared for the "National Pottery Association;" or the Hon. Abram S. Hewitt, and the distinguished representatives of the Chamber of Commerce, led by the Hon. Jackson S. Schultz, who so ably addressed the Commission on behalf of that venerable and influential body. The gentlemen of the Chamber, while explaining the defects in our system, remarked that the "customs service of Great Britain assists the merchant in every way it can, while ours purposely obstructs and hinders." They alluded to the "estrangement" which at present exists, and they said that "the efforts of the Commission were

looked to to bring about a better state of feeling between the merchants and the Government."

As to complaints from individual merchants, the disposition so frankly exhibited by the Collector to subject witnesses whose testimony might be displeasing to cross-examination and impeachment of their motives, may sufficiently explain the fact that so large a number of merchants whose names would be recognized far and wide as "prominent and honorable," and who were ready to aid in a reform of the system, preferred to submit their statements and suggestions in the form of confidential letters to the Commission of the Government or to that of the Chamber.

The Collector without specification suggests that the testimony "wholly fails to bear out the sweeping and general allegations of the Commission," and he gives his idea of a correct civil service, in which he includes permanence in office, promotion, and prompt punishment of misconduct, but from which he omits at least three heads which may be regarded as essential, to wit:

1. The ascertained qualification of each official for his particular post.

2. His ascertained good character.

3. The responsibility of each chief of a bureau for the conduct of his subordinates. He then says, "I challenge comparison with any department of the Government, and maintain that civil-service reform has been more faithfully observed and more thoroughly carried out in the New York Custom-House than in any other branch or department of the Government, either under the present or any past Administration." That challenge, which in view of facts developed in the custom-house has an extraordinary significance, should secure an equally thorough investigation in each department to discover and correct errors of administration and immoral methods, and to terminate the dangerous control of outside politicians.

Two financial points in the custom-house to which the Commission addressed themselves were, first the cost, and then the loss in the collection of the revenue.

The interesting statistics furnished by General Arthur on the first point showed that the cost of collection on our total importations, which he had declared "the only way to estimate the percentage," was more than three times as great as in France, more

than four times as great as in Germany, and nearly five times as great as in Great Britain: the percentage being—United States, 1.33; France, .37; Germany, .30; and Great Britain, .27. It next appeared that while the cost of collecting our customs revenue was four times as great as in Germany, our loss in its collection was probably twice as large as the net customs revenue of that great empire.

President Grant's Commission, as already stated, estimated the loss at twenty-five per cent. In 1877 Secretary Sherman's Commission were assured at the Chamber of Commerce, on what was said to be "competent authority," that the loss had risen to forty per cent.; and the same opinion is attributed to General Butler, of Massachusetts. No encouragement was given for a hope of increasing strictness for the prevention of fraud, by Mr. Collector Arthur's statement that the diminished seizures under the law of 1874 "represent a loss of many millions to the Government caused by the comparative safety of those who are undertaking and accomplishing great frauds."

Assuming the annual receipts from customs to be $150,000,000, the actual loss if only twenty-five per cent. would be $50,000,000, and the loss if forty per cent. would be $100,000,000. Taking the receipts at New York alone at $108,000,000, the loss at twenty-five per cent. would be $36,000,000, and at forty per cent. it would be $72,000,000.

General Arthur admits that great frauds are being undertaken and accomplished in the New York Custom-House; and now comes the interesting question, How far are the losses of revenue due to the existing system of appointment at the request of political leaders and associations throughout the country?—a system which the Commission pronounced unsound in principle, dangerous and demoralizing in practice, and calculated to perpetuate official ignorance, inefficiency, and corruption. The explanation given by the late Collector of this system discloses a consciousness of the dangerous characters which it admits to the service, and his anxiety to escape the responsibility for the character of the force by transferring that responsibility to the irresponsible politicians who share the patronage of the customs.

General Arthur was quoted by the Commission as saying, "If among the ten thousand applications I find it possible to comply

with such a request, I make the appointment, and the persons for whom it is made bear their proportion of the responsibility for the character of the force."

General Arthur did not explain by what rule of law or canon of common-sense this grave responsibility was divided—what proportion rested on the Collector, and what on the nominating politician in Pennsylvania or Iowa; nor how under the Constitution and laws these politicians could be invested with the responsibility for the subordinate officers of the Government; nor how, if the force be bad, it could help the country, or the custom-house, or the Government, to say that the responsibility rests on irresponsible and unknown parties.

One self-evident inconvenience attending this mode of appointment, viz., that the Government is exposed to the admission of bad men, he distinctly admits. General Arthur says in his letter, "Unfit men may of course in this way procure appointments; but," he adds, "they are soon eliminated." The sort of men who procure appointments was in part shown by his evidence as quoted by the Commission in regard to complaints from one department, that of the Surveyor, in which General Arthur said of the complaints: "Some are for inefficiency, some for neglect of duty, some for inebriety, and some for improper conduct in various ways; some for want of integrity, and some for accepting bribes."

In regard to the acceptance of bribes, General Arthur suggests that "the Commission obtained no evidence." But he had intimated in his letter of May 17, 1877, that the practice was extenuated as having "existed for more than a quarter of a century;" and Mr. Surveyor Sharpe admitted, without qualification, that the law against the acceptance of bribes was "a dead letter."

General Arthur says, "The Commission quote the testimony of myself and the Surveyor as to the complaints, but remember to forget to add my further statement that all such complaints were investigated and acted upon." The manner in which such complaints were sometimes acted upon, after they were investigated, is certainly worthy of remark. Mr. Isaac D. Balch, chief clerk of the Ninth Division, testified that he had made complaints against two clerks, and they had been punished by removal to another department, with an increase of pay.

Mr. Surveyor Sharpe threw a flood of light upon the custom-house meaning of "elimination" in the case of unfit men, such for instance as a defrauder of the revenue, who might chance to have a powerful and sturdy backer. He said: "I had within the last two weeks a letter from a gentleman holding a high official position, in regard to an officer whom he knew to have been dropped three times from the service for cause. He had also been to see me about him, and the last time he came he admitted to me that he had been engaged in defrauding the revenue; and yet he writes me, asking my attention to the case, requesting his appointment."

The Commission had been told by General Sharpe that the very important duty of the Government was sometimes intrusted to men of whom nothing was known when they came; and from the Appraiser's department came the complaint, that their delicate and responsible work was given to men who knew better how to hoe and to plough. But this little story of the Surveyor is interesting as showing the practical working of the appointment system in a case of a known thief, who was three times appointed to office, three times "eliminated" for cause, and a fourth time pressed, in at least two interviews and by letter, for reappointment by a high official cognizant of his guilt! Without knowing his name, or that of his patron, or what offices he had filled, with what chances of collusion and spoils, or what services or reward he rendered to the party or its leaders for such steadfast support under trying circumstances, the facts, so simply told by the Surveyor, may justly command attention. Mr. Collector Arthur seems to have seen in the incident nothing unusual—nothing to call for a single word of remark or explanation. But so striking an illustration of a system which admits the introduction and reintroduction among the honorable employés of the customs service of an experienced thief, goes far to explain the maladministration, the loss of revenue, and the injury to merchants.

The effect of habit upon opinion, and the approval heretofore given at Washington to the use of the custom-house as a partisan machine, to supply funds for elections and places for "the boys," help to interpret the cheerful view taken by the managers of the system as developed by General Arthur and his associates, which the President proposes to reform. When appointments are made

not on the integrity and capacity of the appointee, but on the political influence and needs of the appointer, irregularities must come, of course; and Mr. Naval Officer Cornell philosophically remarks in his note on violations of law by the acceptance of gratuities and complicity in frauds, "The clerks are but human, and whenever there is a coincidence of temptation, frailty, and opportunity, there can naturally be but one result." No reason appears why the management of the customs, when honestly placed on a business footing, should not be as effective and satisfactory as that of the post-office under Mr. James; and it can hardly escape notice at Washington that the opponents of reform rest chiefly on the hope that the President may be induced to make or permit appointments that will give color to their charge, that the cry of reform is only to delude the people, while the Government uses its patronage to subserve individual ambition.

Since the jobbery under the Grant Administration, at home and abroad, has become the subject of critical scrutiny, a rather elaborate effort has been made, combining with the skill of man the wit of woman, to justify or palliate official venality in the present, by historic precedents gathered from the past. It is unhappily easy to find abundant instances of the breach, by eminent culprits, of the eighth commandment, as of nearly all the rest, even in our own brief annals. Such examples, however, as Lord Bacon suggested, are a spurious progeny of time, not its legitimate offspring, having the right of hereditary descent; and apologists for the perversion of governmental trusts to the purposes of ambitious leaders and their personal adherents find it difficult to invest with even a semblance of respectability what Burke rightly calls the "reptile vices."

One case referred to by Senator Hoar forcibly illustrates the world-wide national humiliation that may result from unfit appointments made from other motives than the interest of the country; and, when the Vienna record shall be permitted to see the light, it will show the means to which the Government, after breaking its pledge to civil-service reform, was induced to resort, to avoid the responsibility for its acts, and to mislead the people whose interest and honor it had betrayed. The brief virtue exhibited in the suspension of the Commission when it was known that its management was corrupt, yielded to the demand that the

Government should, after the report of the investigation, reward the management which it had condemned. Then came the suppression of the record, its mutilation and perversion, the substitution in the synopsis of "it is not proven," for the words of the text "it is next proven"—a change that recalls Hamlet's "'Tis as easy as lying." Then came also the formulation and publication by the Government of a charge impugning the integrity of Messrs. Cannon, Roosevelt, and Spang, who had accepted the President's appointment as temporary commissioners, and who, by their skill, industry, devotion, and tact, had rendered the greatest service to the country.

Mr. Gladstone once quoted in the House of Commons the retort of Prince Henry to Falstaff:

> "These lies are like the father that begot them,
> Gross as a mountain, open, palpable."

But, were it desired to characterize fittingly the sort of loyalty exhibited by the Government toward the gentlemen who faithfully executed its orders at Vienna, it would puzzle even Mr. Gladstone to find in the English tongue a suitable expression.

President Hayes has succeeded to the contest for civil-service reform, and finds himself confronted on every side with the "mistakes" that followed General Grant's abandonment of his pledges, and which point the words of Burke, "Interested timidity disgraces as much in the cabinet as personal timidity in the field."

Relieved from a grave embarrassment, the Government has at last the power to purify the customs service in accord with its own order, and in so doing to advance commerce, to save millions of revenue, and to raise the tone of political morality. In a fair and fearless scrutiny of all the departments, the unearthing and abolition of illegal practices, the removal of unfit officials, the establishment of an exact discipline, excluding improper influences and unauthorized dictation, and placing the business of the Government on a business footing, the Government will command the hearty approval of the better classes of our people. They desire to see in the President the bold and vigorous leader, wise, confident, and aggressive, of the reform which he has begun; developing throughout the country a policy of economy and justice that shall bring hope to those now struggling helplessly against municipal and State corruption; securing in Congress the

support of experienced leaders, and through the press the aid of our ablest publicists and economists, even of some who have hardly believed in reform, or who amid the dreary waste of political corruption have begun to doubt of republican institutions.

The doctrine of spoils and the system of appointments have offended the morality and impaired the independence of the Republican party; and it is reported that in the rural districts, where custom-house dictation and interference have been borne impatiently, the President's order is hailed as a decree of emancipation.

Civil-service reform marching to victory under a President who adheres to his resolves, watches his opportunity, and exerts fearlessly his constitutional power for the due execution of the laws, heedless whom it may offend, presents a different aspect from the same reform crushed beneath the broken pledges of the late Administration, defied in the cabinet itself, and laughed to scorn by Government officials.

Astute politicians are again awake to the danger of opposing openly or by a cold silence the presidential policy that so commends itself to the patriotic pride, the self-respect, and material interests, of the American people: against whose intelligent and determined will no political devices can prevail. In the face of the corruption that lurks in our governmental system, and of the gigantic losses of revenue that add to the public burdens, and when every honest and patriotic citizen is ready to cry "God speed!" to the President in his efforts to restore the purity of the national service, the moment is inauspicious for a faction bent on the maintenance of partisan appointments in the teeth of the Constitution, and with their inevitable accessories of demoralization and plunder. An English poet has said, and our own annals prove its truth:

> "Men the most infamous are fond of fame,
> And those who fear not guilt yet start at shame."

JOHN JAY.

VI.

ALFRED DE MUSSET.*

Alfred de Musset was born in Paris, December 11, 1810. He was descended from an old and honorable family, which can be traced as far back as the middle of the twelfth century, and has at different times been allied with various illustrious names, as Du Bellay in literature, indirectly with Jeanne d'Arc by her niece, while Colin de Musset was a celebrated poet and musician in the thirteenth century. Coming down to later times, we find that his maternal grandfather, M. Guyot-Desherbiers, dabbled in literature, writing a mock-heroic poem on cats, and that he was well known for his wit; while Victor de Musset, the father of Alfred, who for many years held official positions under Government, was also not without literary experience. He published an edition of the works of J. J. Rousseau, which he followed up by a study of the life and writings of that great man. This side of his character—a willingness to perform the drudgery of literary work—was something his brilliant son did not inherit; but in addition to this we are told that in conversation he was witty and entertaining, and that he had written a comedy in verse, so that resemblance is not wholly wanting. The mother seems to have left a deep and decidedly favorable impression upon her children.

It is in Paul de Musset's Life that we find the most said about the poet's boyhood. The surviving brother was the elder by six years, but the two were always close friends and intimates, and many anecdotes are given of their early amusements. Alfred was always one of the best scholars at school, shaming his older companions by almost invariable success, while they took their

* 1. *Alfred de Musset. Sa Vie et ses Œuvres.* Par Paul de Musset. Paris: Charpentier, 1877.

2. *Alfred de Musset.* Von Paul Lindau. Berlin: A. Hoffman & Co., 1877.

revenge in the fashion of countries that have not been civilized by prize-fighting, in combining to pummel him after school-hours. At another time, the two boys were taught at home by a private tutor, they studying at the same time on their own account every story or poem of chivalry which they could lay their hands on. Alfred de Musset seems to have been a bright and nervous child, full of imagination, affectionate and sensitive. When only a little boy, under ten, he fell in love with a cousin of his, several years his senior, who in jest promised to marry him when he should be older. Soon she married some one else, and none of his family dared tell him of the fact through fear of the pain the news would cause him. Not for many years did he learn the truth, and then he was startled, and only consoled by hearing that she was still fond of him, and regarded him with the affection of a sister. This little anecdote would seem to show that he was not prepared in the best way to meet severe disappointments and difficulties of life in the world, and it was his fate to be called upon to face the world at a very early age. After leaving school he cast about in uncertainty to determine what should be his future occupation. Law and medicine alike repelled him, he tried in vain music and painting, but his avocation was quickly decided when he was introduced to the circle of young men who were then busy at remodeling French literature. The headquarters of these reformers was the house of Victor Hugo, and there Alfred de Musset was introduced by one of his friends, even before he had finished his studies. He had already composed one or two poems which have not been preserved, but it was the encouragement and example of his new companions, of Alfred de Vigny, Mérimée, Sainte-Beuve, to name the most distinguished, and of Victor Hugo who was their acknowledged head, that led to his writing a little romantic drama, of which the scene was laid in Spain. It is a familiar story how the romantic side of Spain was rediscovered by that young band who had grown impatient of the traditional chains that seemed to them to lie heavy upon literature, of the three unities, and of that rigid form of Alexandrine verse which had survived such wide-spread devastations. As Brandes says: *

* "Die Hauptströmungen der Literatur des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts," erster Band, p. 25.

"The French had overthrown their government, slain or banished the odious aristocrats, founded a republic, carried on war with the rest of Europe, done away with Christianity, decreed the worship of a Supreme Being, deposed or established a dozen rulers, before it occurred to any one to declare war against the Alexandrine verse, before any one ventured to question the authority of Corneille or Boileau, or to doubt that the observance of the three unities was absolutely necessary for the preservation of good taste."

Spain was for these outlaws in literature what it now is for a certain school of painters. The country is fortified by bad inns against large numbers of invading travelers, so that it is unfamiliar to the general public, and in its history, as well as in its backward civilization, there is no lack of picturesqueness. It was well chosen as the starting-point whence these young knights should issue to conquer fresh worlds. All of them were young, Victor Hugo, the oldest, being but twenty-six in 1828, the year when Alfred de Musset, aged seventeen, wrote this drama, of which only a sketch has been preserved, but enough to show that it was satisfactorily full of bloodshed. When he recited these early pieces to his companions they greeted them warmly; Sainte-Beuve wrote to one of his friends, "We have among us a child full of genius." This brilliant youth, handsome, well-born, notorious for precocious success, plunged with equal ardor into the worlds of pleasure and of fashion. His first publication, meanwhile, was a free translation of De Quincey's "Confessions of an English Opium-Eater," which fell dead from the press. His first volume of poetry, called "Contes d'Espagne et d'Italie," was finished before and published soon after his nineteenth birthday. It contained "Don Paëz," "Portia," "Mardoche," together with what early pieces he cared to preserve. The success of this little volume was very great, and certainly these poems, in view of their writer's youth, are simply marvelous. It would be impossible to deny the genius that fills many of them, full as they are of overwrought passion and melodramatic intensity. We need not wonder that the young poet sprang with a bound to a high place in the public estimation. The fanaticism of reform inspired some of their exaggeration, as did also the influence of Victor Hugo in regard of choice of subject and method of treatment, but they have all the stamp of originality of a rare kind. In these early writings as in

his later ones, we notice the promptness of his poetical utterance; he struck the lyre, and the notes sounded without a prelude of fumbled strings. This quality is in every one of his poems, and its presence must be acknowledged even by those who do not like them. A rigid moralist, or indeed most people, would find much to regret in the young writer's precocious knowledge of sin, but they contain passages, at least, of a rare poetical value. "Don Paëz," "Portia," and "Les Marrons au Feu," have all a decided operatic flavor which was part of the literary fashion of the time, and which, exaggerated as it was, the poet accepted ungrudgingly and carried out to its homicidal perfection, but with astounding cleverness and with lines full of beauty.

In spite of the cleverness Alfred de Musset showed in adopting the literary methods of this new school, and in spite of the bits of real poetry to be found here and there in what is too frequently an unworthy setting, for, their immorality apart, the melodramatic exaggeration does not carry complete conviction of the reality of the feeling therein expressed, in spite of these attractions, no one can read them without regret that a man of so poetic a nature should have fallen on so unfavorable a period. These fantastic stories of adultery and wholesale murder read like the devices of literary adventurers rather than the utterance of men who wrote because they believed in or were possessed by the truth of what they had to say. Victor Hugo has remained true to his early convictions; but it is not strange that Alfred de Musset, who had a much more delicate feeling for the fitness of things, soon outgrew what was at the best clever mannerism, and left the romantic school behind him, although its influence is visible upon much of his later work. Even in this little volume was one sign of revolt. The famous "Ballade à la Lune" was intended as a parody of the writings of that school, but unfortunately it was always taken for a declaration of adherence to the principles it was intended to ridicule, and this in spite of his plain statement concerning it in his poem, "Les secrètes Pensées de Rafaël, Gentilhomme français," in which he said:

> "Maîtres, maîtres divins, où trouverai-je, hélas!
> Un fleuve où me noyer, une corde où me pendre?
> Pour avoir oublié de faire écrire au bas
> Le public est prié de ne pas se méprendre."

This poem was one of the "Poésies diverses," published in 1831. Here he broke from his former loves and spoke out for himself, laying aside the theatrical properties in which his genius had been disguised, and saying what he felt, not what he had been taught to consider effective. He was but twenty when this book appeared, and that is not the age at which, as a general rule, youthful follies are laid aside; but this change is only another proof of Musset's wonderful precocity. Naturally enough, the public, which had gone wild over the first volume with its appeal to all manner of violent emotions, was cooler toward these verses in which something very different found expression, the author appearing almost to condemn what less than two years before had brought him such warm praise. The greater maturity of these poems is their most striking trait. "Les Vœux stériles" is the most noticeable of them, and in it we find not so much the cleverness which had hitherto marked him as that great gift that belonged to him almost alone among French poets, of using language that in its melody and eloquence seemed inspired. We readers of English know in our literature countless instances of the rich melody which delights the ear and the mind at the same time; but just that quality which every one will be pretty sure to recall in his favorite poems, whatever they may be, is most rare in French poetry. A feeling of *delight* is rarely got from reading French verse. Chénier one will like, or Béranger, or possibly Lamartine or Victor Hugo, but even those who do sincerely admire Victor Hugo's poetry are possibly thinking, part of the time while reading it, "What a great creature this man is!" instead of deriving from it that indefinable rapturous joy which some of Alfred de Musset's verses give, and which finds its English equivalent in Keats among others. While these two poets, who were so nearly contemporaries, differ extremely in many things, and especially in their relation to the life about them, which found no expression in Keats, while with its follies, shortcomings, and disappointments, it inspired much of Musset's best work, there are yet analogies to be found between them outside of the phenomenal precocity of both in winning so high a place at so early an age. One point of resemblance is the eloquence with which each spoke of antiquity. Thus in "Les Vœux stériles" occurs this beautiful passage:

"Grèce, ô mère des arts, terre d'idolâtrie,
De mes vœux insensés éternelle patrie,
J'étais né pour ces temps où les fleurs de ton front
Couronnaient dans les mers l'azur de l'Hellespont.
Je suis un citoyen de tes siècles antiques;
Mon âme avec l'abeille erre sous tes portiques.
La langue de ton peuple, ô Grèce, peut mourir;
Nous pouvons oublier le nom de tes montagnes;
Mais qu'en fouillant le sein de tes blondes campagnes
Nos regards tout à coup viennent à découvrir
Quelque dieu de tes bois, quelque Vénus perdue.
La langue que parlait le cœur de Phidias
Sera toujours vivante et toujours entendue;
Les marbres l'ont apprise, et ne l'oublieront pas."

Or, again, the wonderfully fine lines in the "Nuit de Mai," beginning—

"Et la Grèce, ma mère, où le miel est si doux,"

may be compared with Keats's expression in the "Hyperion," or the "Ode to a Grecian Urn," for instance, of his passionate devotion to the home of poetry. Indeed, every poet almost pays an open tribute to Greece in the way of imitation or translation of its masterpieces, as Goethe, Heine, Schiller, even Wordsworth, in his "Laodamia," Shelley, Byron, Browning, Swinburne, and Landor, to name those first occurring to the memory, but Keats, Landor, and Musset, sound the rarest note.

The next volume to appear was one called "Un Spectacle dans un Fauteuil," which contained "La Coupe et les Lèvres," a Byronic poem in dramatic form, and another, "À quoi rêvent les jeunes Filles," which is most delightful. "Namouna," the third long poem, also shows traces of Byron's influence, and is a marked example of one of Musset's many gifts, of his easy, flowing style and brilliancy, for his genius was many-sided, like the civilization which found its best expression in his verse. Musset lived in a sterile time, one of disappointment and impotent reaction, which was the awakening from the visions of liberty that had inspired the French Revolution, and of fame that bound the French heart to Napoleon. Freedom and glory had turned to ashes on the lips of that great people: they were tainted by vice; and it is not strange that a real poet who breathed this corrupt air, and failed to find high ideals worshiped, who could not be

contented with imitating models whose narrowness he saw too clearly, should have reflected what went on about him. That he should have begun as extravagantly as he did was, as we have seen, only natural. What is to be regretted is, that he should have fallen on such dark times, and that he should have suffered so much from the corruption which formed a good part of the *maladie du siècle.* It was this stain which belonged to him in common with his age, that so frequently mars, or at any rate leaves its traces on, much of his work. It did harm, too, from another point of view, by calling the reader's attention to what is of ungenuine interest. An example of this is the poem "Rolla," where the poet wastes his strength on an unworthy subject. Rolla—the story was taken from an incident that had just shocked Parisian society—is a spendthrift who determined to commit suicide after he had spent all his money in debauchery, an occupation to which he had devoted himself with considerable energy. This poem describes his final orgy and his self-inflicted death. Few poems have treated of less savory subjects; for, the lack of morality or decorum apart, the narrowness of the social implications of the subject brings the work down from the heights where such rich poetry as Alfred de Musset's belongs, and makes the story, impressive as it is, of far less value than the interludes. These passages, where the poet speaks in his own person concerning the society which makes these things possible, and, it may be added, these poems popular, are full of fervor and passionate beauty, inspiring words that burn into the subject with an intensity the reader can never forget. The whole poem is so effective that extracts can do it no manner of justice; even the long, ardent appeals would be injured by being detached from their setting, but there are frequent bits which show how wholly poetical was Musset's nature. Here is one describing a horse dying of thirst in the desert:

> "Elle se sent fléchir; ses marines qui saignent
> S'enfoncent dans le sable, et le sable alteré
> Vient boire avidement son sang décoloré.
> Alors elle se couche et se grands yeux s'éteignent,
> Et le pâle désert roule sur son enfant
> Les flots silencieux de son linceul mouvant."

There is swept away at once the carefully constructed hy-

pothesis that the French tongue is totally unfitted for poetry; that it is of service only for diplomatic, mathematical, and conversational purposes. The language was only waiting for the poet to use it, and, when he had occasion to speak, he found it as convenient for his use as any that ever filled a dictionary. Throughout there is perfect mastery of language: every word falls into its proper place, just as well-trained soldiers fall into line at the call of their commander; the thought finds its exact and swift expression. The thought, too, is no less striking. Musset says here with perfect truth—

"Je suis venu trop tard dans un monde trop vieux;"

and if the subject that inspired him was from an artistic point of view a disappointing one, as if a painter were to give us a picture of the victim of some hideous disease, it is impossible to withhold admiration from the headlong power with which the poet overmasters the reader's objections, and carries him on with him by the force of genius.

That the poem had immense success in Paris can be well believed; and it is no wonder that the brilliant youth, who had already done so much, and who was at this time but twenty-two, should have been a petted favorite. One result of his new fame was an introduction to George Sand; she was the rock on which his life was wrecked.

The story of the *liaison* between these two people has been long before the world; and the brother's biography gives no new information of that period of Alfred de Musset's life. The two met, it will be remembered, at a dinner given to the contributors to the *Revue des Deux Mondes.* They took a great fancy to one another; and certainly in Musset's youth, beauty, genius, and aristocratic position, there was enough to turn even a more cautious head than that which sat on George Sand's shoulders. We know from Heine's account of her, and he was an impartial if not indeed an unfavorable witness, that she was then a handsome woman, and it seemed but part of the nature of things that this youth and this woman having met should love one another. The fact that her husband was living at the time could hardly have been an additional charm or hinderance, because his wife was separated from him for her greater convenience. It was in the au-

tumn of 1833 that George Sand, having obtained from Alfred de Musset's mother permission (we have the brother's authority for this) to take him with her to Italy, left Paris in his company. There is no need of going into the story of their quarrel. Many years after it was all over, George Sand wrote her version of the affair in a novel called "Elle et Lui." In this she called attention especially to Musset's irritability and inconstancy; but, unfortunately for her already maculate reputation, there had been left in Paul de Musset's hands such letters of her own and such memoranda of his brother's as served to tell in irrefutable language the story of her treachery to him; this is all contained in Paul de Musset's "Lui et Elle." It by no means follows that, because she was heartless toward him, he was himself without flaw. The real trouble lay in their radical dissimilarity of character: he was ardent, impetuous, without settled principles, although naturally high-toned and a gentleman; while she, whatever her vagaries might be, kept cool and unmoved. He would only work as the impulse seized him; she, on the other hand, could sit down to her table, as another woman would to her sewing, and write a definite number of pages every day with perfect equanimity. The story of their quarrels goes much deeper than this, but it is painful reading. We see his nervous irritability and sensitiveness fully exposed, and her cold curiosity and vanity, so that the romance is soon huddled out of sight, and all that is left is a scene of domestic infelicity, in which the woman by her insatiable vanity and rapidly-growing indifference breaks the heart of a youth who, whatever his faults, really loved her. It was a mere episode in her life. She threw him over for a good-looking, stupid young Italian physician, but for Musset the blow was one from which he never recovered. When he came home, in the next spring, sick in mind and body, an old, hopeless man at twenty-three, there began a new chapter in his life. One of his most marked traits had always been an eager love of truth and intense hatred of deception, so that this woman's heartless treatment of him poisoned his whole nature. The period of literary production after his return was but brief; yet in it he wrote some of his finest things. The best of the lyrical compositions are four, called the "Nuits," in which it is easy to detect traces of his sufferings. The "Nuit de Mai" and the "Nuit d'Octobre" are the finest;

and, while it would be invidious to make an absolute statement of their superiority to all French lyrical poetry, it may yet be said that they utter a cry of real feeling such as is but seldom heard in any language. The first-named opens with a lovely description of the spring; but its close is still finer with its comparison of the pelican feeding its young with its blood to the poet delighting the world by singing his sufferings. The passage ends thus:

"Pour toute nourriture il apporte son cœur.
Sombre et silencieux, étendu sur la pierre,
Partageant à ses fils ses entrailles de père,
Dans un amour sublime il berce sa douleur,
Et, regardant couler sa sanglante mamelle,
Sur son festin de mort il s'affaisse et chancelle,
Ivre de volupté, de tendresse et d'horreur.
Mais parfois, au milieu du divin sacrifice,
Fatigué de mourir dans un trop long supplice,
Il craint que ses enfants ne le laissent vivant;
Alors il se soulève, ouvre son aile au vent,
Et, se frappant le cœur avec un cri sauvage,
Il pousse dans la nuit un si funèbre adieu
Que les oiseaux des mers désertent le rivage,
Et que le voyageur attardé sur la plage,
Sentant passer la mort, se recommande à Dieu.
Poëte, c'est ainsi que font les grand poëtes:
Ils laissent s'égayer ceux qui vivent un temps,
Mais les festins humains qu'ils servent à leurs fêtes
Ressemblent la plupart à ceux des pélicans," etc., etc.

Certainly the charge of coldness, of ungenuineness, cannot be brought against verses like these; and it is in just such expression of his feelings, of such poetical statement, that Musset is at his best. It is an interesting question just what incidents of his life are referred to in the "Nuits." In the "Nuit d'Octobre" occurs the apostrophe—

"Honte à toi qui la première
M'as appris la trahison,
Et d'horreur et de colère
M'as fait perdre la raison," etc.,

by which George Sand is of course meant. The brother's biography contains the opening lines of another of these poems, the "Nuit de Juin;" these run as follows:

"Le Poëte.

"Muse, quand le blé pousse il faut être joyeux.
Regarde ces coteaux et leur blonde parure.
Quelle douce clarté dans l'immense nature!
Tout ce qui vit ce soir doit se sentir heureux."

No more was ever written. Just when Musset had reached this point he was interrupted by a friend who dragged him off to dinner, and the inspiration never returned, and we have but this fragment left to tantalize us. Another poem, most beautiful, of his is that "À la Malibran," which we have no space to give in full. The reader cannot do better than to turn to it, and, after reading it, let him say how much justice there is in Mr. Swinburne's remarks about Musset, that he is "the female page or attendant dwarf of Chamfort;" and that his poems are "decoctions of watered Byronism," although he gives him credit for "fitful and febrile beauty." It is to be remembered, however, that Mr. Swinburne was engaged at that time in lauding Victor Hugo, and that for the better performance of that task it perhaps seemed to him good to decry more genuine poets.

It was not as a writer of lyric verse alone that Musset acquired fame. In the year 1830 he had tried his luck with a little comedy, "La Nuit Venitienne," which was hissed from the stage without a hearing. It was treated as a scapegoat for the sins of the Romanticists, and condemned on general principles. This failure discouraged him very much, and, although he subsequently wrote many plays, he intended that they should be read rather than acted; but when one slight piece, "Un Caprice," had been successful at St. Petersburg, it was brought out in Paris, and from that time Musset's plays have held a high place on the stage. They may be crudely divided into two classes, one concerning itself with a charming representation of little scenes in society, while others are of a more poetical sort, with the scene at times in an impossible land on a sort of historical basis, and again, as "Lorenzaccio," on a firm ground of fact. The early ones, "La Nuit Venitienne," "Fantaisie," and "Les Caprices de Marianne," have for heroes, or for important characters, young men tired of the dissipation into which they have fallen through listlessness. Such is Octave in the play last named, while on the other hand there is Cœlio, the ardent lover.

Lindau—who occasionally makes an unexpected slip—says of Cœlio that he is all love, all poetry, all inactivity (*Thatlosigkeit*), and wholly uninteresting, which last epithet is singularly out of place. Those who have seen this comedy with tragic end upon the stage, will be unwilling to agree with the critic in this matter. It is hard to recall a modern play of the same length that appeals to more varied feelings than this, or one so full of poetical imagination, so free from the rigid chains of realism. Even in those slighter pieces which most nearly approach realism, he avoids that dangerous temptation which leads to substituting violent incidents for the more delicate appeal to the sympathy of the spectator or reader with their natural, unforced feelings. The artful simplicity of "Un Caprice" shows this.

After his return from Italy he wrote "On ne badine pas avec l'Amour," a very beautiful play, and "Lorenzaccio," which has in it the elements of a fine tragedy. As it stands, however, it is incomplete and unsatisfactory, containing passages that might profitably be stricken out before acting, and with frequent need of additions to make the action clear. The hero, whose name gives the title to the play, sinks himself into all sorts of vice in order that he may the better bring vengeance upon the tyrant who, in spite of warnings, never dreams of suspecting him. Almost everywhere Musset gives the feeling that he did less than he might have done, that his power of work was lamentably less than his ability, and nowhere is this more evident than in this play. In the others he, to be sure, brought himself forward under various disguises, but the complexity of his character relieves this charge of the odiousness it has when brought against smaller men. He was always at war with himself; the life he led was unworthy; what he saw about him charmed and misled him, so that we see one of the finest geniuses of his time corroded by the society which had a fatal fascination for him as a man of the world.

It will be noticed that the title of one of his poems is "Les secrètes Pensées de Rafaël, Gentilhomme français" and Musset differed from a good many workers with the pen by the fact that he was not so much a professional writer as first of all, in his own eyes and in those of the society in which he lived, *gentilhomme français*. He never wrote from any stronger outside influ-

ence than the request of some one whom he was anxious to please. Editors pursued him in vain for manuscript; he would write only to please himself, and he was always unwilling to make any settled plans of work. This position that he took, and which was his too by right, distinguishes him clearly from his many fellow-workers, who were writers first and always. Some of them—the novelists, for instance—built up a fantastic theory of society out of their own heads, introducing all manner of imaginary inventions of their own, and giving a conventional and in some respects unreal report of the life they undertook to describe. Thus Balzac wrote with one foot firmly planted on fact, while the other was upheld by a civilization that existed in his own fancy. In this way arose the familiar French novel, which portrays an invented, ungenuine society, the prey of certain vices, with impossible scenes assumed to be normal, but all resting on nearly as unsolid a foundation as did tales of chivalry. The securest reserve is that which hides behind apparent frankness; and France, which is overrun with foreign visitors, where the people of the lower classes cannot quarrel without going out into the street to do it, is less intimately known to outsiders than almost any country in Europe. Real French society of the best class is as unknown to strangers as is the inside of an Egyptian harem to the hasty traveler who journeys up the Nile in a steamboat. But while Musset is at home in the fairy-land where is laid the scene of such plays as "À quoi rêvent les jeunes Filles," and even some that have been put upon the stage, like "On ne badine pas avec l'Amour," etc., when he touches firm French soil, he is perfectly honest, and far removed from treating conventionally what he saw about him.

His prose writings show this candor. In the "Confession d'un Enfant du Siècle" he draws a picture of a man degraded by corrupt society, in which vice is rather the employment of idle men than an alluring temptation. In construction the book is faulty, and bears traces of the long gap between the composition of the different parts. It is painful reading from what was doubtless an accurate description of the bad side of its author's character. Certainly the life it depicts was one destructive of poetical feeling, and the little that he wrote after the age of thirty shows that he did not escape the consequence of his own follies. Lin-

dau is continually speaking of Musset's indolence, but that term does not seem accurately to describe or explain his scanty performance. Within ten years he had written what was in bulk a respectable amount, and his silence after that time was due to other causes than indolence.

Before he laid aside his pen, however, he added some good work to what he had before done. In his prose stories he made use of many incidents of his life. Thus "Emmeline" records a bit of his own experience; "Les deux Maîtresses" has an autobiographical value; and into "Margot" he introduced reminiscences of his boyhood, and so in others. But it is in "Le Fils de Titien" that we find him expressing himself frankly. This story was always a great favorite of his, and it is easy to see whom he had in mind in drawing the hero. Paul de Musset tells us that this was the story which his brother wrote with the greatest enthusiasm. Besides being a well-told tale, with two fine sonnets in it, it contains a defense of the position the author was gradually taking with regard to literature. Tizianello paints a masterpiece, and then refuses to touch his brush again. He felt that he was living in a time of the decadence of art which could only be overcome by an effort beyond his powers; "he was young, rich, strong—he had a beautiful mistress; to avoid reproaches he had only to let the sun rise and set. Should he renounce so many advantages for a doubtful glory which, after all, he would probably never attain? . . . And with his customary light-heartedness he concluded by saying: 'Painting may go to the devil! Life is too short!'"

This is the poetical, self-deluding side of Musset's aversion to serious work. He had begun as few writers have begun, but there had early entered into his heart the poison which unfitted him for severe endeavor. There is no need of insisting upon the frequent instances he gives in his writings of his own demoralization. He had learned to disbelieve in the existence of anything worth writing about; he had become disgusted with the world and with himself; and the consequence was, that the last seventeen years of his life were passed by him not only unproductively but with a deliberate waste of his fine gifts. In his poem "Sur la Paresse," written in December, 1841, he defended himself by attacking with righteous indignation the age in which it

was his misfortune to live, accusing it of being wholly given up to vice and sordid gain, so that he was tempted to stand outside of the current of action instead of singing its decadence or lashing its faults. The indifference with which he was heard also offended his pride and encouraged him in his determination to keep silence. He looked upon his poetry as something which he would give to the world only at such times as to him seemed best, and if no one cared to listen to him he would not utter a sound. Indeed, the lack of interest in his verses which was at that time shown by the public, and the coldness of the leading critics, might well have wounded a less haughty spirit; and it is not strange that Musset, who was always above uneasy anxiety to keep himself before the public, should have forborne writing. For this reason, and the others before mentioned, he wrote but little for many years. It was, however, in the beginning of this period of silence that he wrote one of the most beautiful of his poems, "Le Souvenir." He had visited the forest of Fontainebleau in the month of September, 1840, and a few months later he put into verse the reminiscences which were recalled by the scene of his old love for George Sand. The whole poem is most touching. But after it was published he was filled with regret that he had given it to the world. He said to his brother: "I have given my bleeding heart to the public. I am vexed to think that any stupid fool can recite those two lines:

> 'Mes yeux ont contemplé des objets plus funèbres,
> Que Juliette morte, au fond de son tombeau.'

"I uttered those words alone in the silence of the night, and now they are cast abroad for the entertainment of idlers. Fortunately, you will see that no one will pay any attention to them." Since then, however, they have met with a different fate, although for a time the prophecy was fulfilled. It is hard to imagine indifference to such lines as these:

> "Oui, sans doute, tout meurt; ce monde est un grand rêve,
> Et le peu de bonheur qui nous vient en chemin,
> Nous n'avons pas plus tôt ce roseau dans la main,
> Que le vent nous l'enlève.
>
> "Oui, les premiers baisers, oui, les premiers serments,
> Que deux êtres mortels échangèrent sur terre,

Ce fut au pied d'un arbre effeuillé par les vents,
Sur un roc en poussière.

"Ils prirent à témoin de leur joie éphémère
Un ciel toujours voilé qui change à tout moment,
Et des astres sans nom que leur propre lumière
Dévore incessamment.

"Tout mourait autour d'eux, l'oiseau dans le feuillage,
La fleur entre leurs mains, l'insecte sous leurs piéds,
La source desséchée où vacillait l'image
De leurs traits oubliés;

"Et sur tous ces débris joignant leurs mains d'argile,
Étourdis des éclairs d'un instant de plaisir,
Ils croyaient échapper à cet Être immobile
Qui regarde mourir.
Insensés! dit le sage.—Heureux! dit le poëte," etc.

This unhappy man died in May, 1857, and his death was for him a relief from trouble and despair. For many years he had been a melancholy wreck. This brief analysis describes cursorily only some of his masterpieces. The reader can feel sure in advance that he will be led from one fine thing to another, although he will be at times repelled, if he takes up Alfred de Musset's works. If he reads first Carl de Musset's Life, he will learn to appreciate the poet's great personal charm, and he will be kept from judging his faults too harshly. His poems need no loud trumpet to proclaim their excellence. A lover of poetry will find them full of delight. He will read with interest, too, in the brother's biography, many short poems never before printed, and fragments of a story, "Le Poëte déchu," which like so much of the rest was partly autobiographical. Its destruction by its writer is a great loss to his admirers, but it was due to a natural aversion to giving his writings to an indifferent public. The public has now ceased to be indifferent to the most poetical of modern French poets.

Thomas Sergeant Perry.

VII.

WHAT IS INSPIRATION?

I. The Rev. F. H. Hedge, D. D.
II. The Rev. E. A. Washburn, D. D.
III. The Rev. Chauncey Giles.
IV. The Rev. J. P. Newman.
V. The Most Rev. J. Gibbons, D. D. *Archbishop of Baltimore.*
VI. John Fiske.

I.

All biblical religions claim for their scriptures an inspiration which distinguishes them from other, mere literary compositions. The Vedas, the Avesta, the Koran, the Law, are regarded as divinely inspired by their respective inheritors—Brahman, Parsee, Mussulman, and Jew. Indeed, without an inspired word, and belief in such a word, no enduring religion could ever establish itself in the world.

Christianity, born of Jewish parentage, embraces the Hebrew Scriptures in one canon with its own New Testament, and credits both with an equal and divine origin.

The theory of inspiration which has commonly prevailed in the Christian Church is that of dictation. According to this theory, the writers of the Old and New Testaments were simply amanuenses employed by the Holy Spirit to express given thoughts in given words. They exercised no deliberation, no imagination, no thought, no mental faculty whatever, in their writing. Their function was purely mechanical; they had only to hold the pen or open the mouth, and hand and lip moved as the Spirit listed.

According to this theory, these Scriptures are in no sense human utterances; there is no human element in them; they are not the thoughts, the meditations, the aspirations, the admonitions, the confessions, of finite beings, but transcripts of the Divine. They are works of God, in substantially the same sense in which sun, moon, and stars, are works of God; they are works framed in language, as earth and heaven are works framed in

matter, or what we so name. Consequently there is no difference of degree * in these writings; Chronicles and Prophets, Acts and Gospel, are equally divine. From Genesis to Revelation, every word is the immediate utterance of the Infinite Mind.

This theory, known in theology as the doctrine of plenary, verbal inspiration, presents grave difficulties, and is generally rejected, I suppose, by honest critics of the present day. The absence of any proof, the impossibility of any proof, by which such a doctrine can be sustained, will be felt as a prior objection by unprejudiced minds. The Bible does not claim to be inspired in the sense of dictation,† and, if it did, if the doctrine were explicitly taught in the Scriptures, their assertion alone would not establish the fact. It would need authentication by an independent witness; it would need that God by some other, external, demonstration should repeat and confirm the assertion.

The doctrine does not answer the purpose for which it is maintained. The kind of inspiration affirmed has not secured the end supposed to be designed by it. The end presumed is infallible certainty in religion. That certainty has not been attained. The Old Testament is differently interpreted by Jews and Christians, and both Old and New are very differently interpreted by different portions of the Christian world. Professing equally to seek in this volume the infallible word of God, they have not agreed as to what they found in its pages. Hence the Romanist argues, "You must have not only an infallible word, but an infallible interpreter of that word." The Church of Rome assumes to be that interpreter; but Rome has not been able to secure unanimity of opinion. The attempt to do so has resulted in suppression of private judgment, or in schism. It needs for that purpose not only an infallible interpreter, but unquestioning submission to such interpreting, an entire surrender of the mind or suspension of its action in the matter of religion. Whether such surrender accords with the purpose of God, implied in the gift of reason, is a question I need not discuss.

The theory of verbal inspiration requires that copyist and

* The Swedenborgians exclude from this claim the Acts of the Apostles and the Pauline epistles.

† The term θεόπνευστος, 2 Timothy iii. 16 (the passage often cited in defense of the doctrine), will not bear that interpretation.

translator and printer should all be inspired, or divinely preserved from error, as well as the author or nominal author of each writing. In short, it requires an endless series of miracles in order to accomplish a result which, if it were intended by God, he might and probably would have effected by the shorter process of constituting each mind in its original make an infallible seer of the truth. It is fair to presume that God wills no such thing, neither unanimity of opinion nor infallible certainty in religion, but rather growth in knowledge by the exercise of reason, and such aids as are given.

In combating a theory of inspiration which has still some currency among Christians, I am far from denying the fact of inspiration rightly understood. I believe in the inspiration of the Bible—of those parts of it, at least, which are not mere chronicle and narrative, but expressions of devout feeling, and presentations of spiritual truth. I believe in it, not because the Church affirms it, but from personal experience. It meets me in the lofty strains of the Psalmist, it meets me in the burning words of the prophets, and in many a profound utterance of John and of Paul. I feel that here is something more than ordinary writing or deliberate artistic composition—an elevation of mind, a kindling of the spirit, an open vision, a depth of conviction, which have made these effusions the litanies of nations, and fed for ages the life of the soul. The test of inspiration is the power to inspire, to kindle inspiration in others. This is not a question to be settled by dogmatic authority; it is a question of experience which each must decide for himself, and which, by experience, the ages have decided. Theologians and anti-theologians may argue the matter as they will: the fact that these writings have been the life and strength of many generations, that successive generations for thousands of years have drawn from this well, and found refreshment in it and a comfort and a quickening which no other book could supply, is proof sufficient of their transcendent and exceptional worth. To how many sufferers in ages past the Psalms of David have whispered courage and patience, and breathed consolation and exceeding peace! To how many sufferers the world over they fulfill the same ministry now! How many anxious inquirers, struggling after clearness and guidance, have found in these Scriptures some word whose encounter was day-spring to

their souls! How many a remorseful sinner, tossed and torn with throes of conscious guilt, has found here balm for his desperate wound! The Bible is the only book with which we are familiar that can ever be to us more than a book—more than the wisdom or entertainment or edification we find in it; the only one from which, at times, in certain moods of the mind, a spirit seems to speak to us beyond the import of the letter; a spirit that knows us, and addresses itself directly to the soul. To the critical understanding this will seem a wild illusion. It may be that; but to those who experience it it is very real. No other book, I think, can effect such illusion. In this sense the Bible may become, in our experience, an exceptional book, exceptionally inspired.

What precisely is the method of that inspiration, in what way it acts on the mind and speech of the writer, we cannot say; we can only recognize the fact. There is no better statement of it than that of Peter: "Not by the *will* of man," but as "moved by the Holy Ghost." The statement, as I understand it, expresses the motive power, but does not cover every thought and word of the writers. I do not suppose that their views and conceptions were blown into them, much less that the propositions which express those views were dictated from without. They were full of a divine spirit, and from the fullness of that spirit they thought and wrote. They were not mere passive media of divine influence, but active participators of, and coöperators with it. Their writings are the genuine, natural products of the human mind, but of minds stimulated and informed by a higher life. They are the utterances of faith; for faith and inspiration are different aspects of one experience, different sides of one fact—faith the human side, inspiration the divine.

Inspiration must not be confounded with infallibility. The idea has been greatly prejudiced by that confusion. A writing may be inspired without being in every particular theoretically and scientifically true. The will, the sentiments, the moral nature, may be inspired; there may even be an inspired vision of great general truths, without that perfect illumination of the understanding which insures a thorough discernment and entire freedom from error in all the details of the subject, and in matters incidental to the general theme. I may believe in the in-

spiration of the first chapter of Genesis, without believing in the scientific accuracy of the cosmogony contained in it. I may believe in the inspiration of the fifteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, without being certain about a general resurrection of the dead at the sound of a trumpet, which that chapter affirms. In a word, inspiration is telescopic not microscopic, creative not critical; it sees, beyond ordinary minds, the truth in gross, but not in all the details. If any one object to this view that it leaves the reader free to accept or reject according as the writing shall agree or conflict with his experience, I can only reply that I see no other way—no escape, but the right of private judgment, from the yoke of an infallible church. He who brings to the reading of the Scriptures the same spirit in which they were written will not be likely to go far astray in the interpretation of their contents.

Rightly considered, the distinction to be maintained between inspiration and infallibility will dispose us to appreciate inspiration in other forms than those which Christian tradition has commended to us. We shall not be guilty of the narrowness of seeing revelation and the gift of God only in the Hebrew and Greek writings, which compose the canon of the Old and New Testaments. There are other Bibles than those which contain the records and the types of the Jewish and Christian faiths. And, though immeasurably inferior to these, the sacred books of all biblical religions contain, no doubt, along with much that is earthly and weak, some utterances of inspired men, which will live when the systems they represent are extinct. Nothing that is born of the Spirit, no genuine inspiration, old or new, Christian or ethnic, canonical or uncanonical, can perish. By no conservative device, by its own inherent force, it survives. Of literary products, much that seemed, at the time, of surpassing excellence is lost by the way as humanity advances; but, by some law of the great economy, the best things keep—the grand utterances of seers and prophets are handed down from age to age.

F. H. Hedge.

II.

I MUST be pardoned if I say that I cannot look for much gain to Christian learning, when problems in theology that ask the most thorough study are to be settled by a passage of small-arms on the dueling-ground of an article. But I will offer a few plain thoughts, which may help some earnest minds in this day of theories. Most willingly do I accept what has been said by the ripe scholar before me, as to the doctrine of verbal or mechanical dictation of the Scriptures. Yet I cannot rest in negation. If, then, I may frankly speak, I do not see that my friend, in uprooting the old error, has left a positive truth in its stead.

It is hardly just to history when he says that this "theory of dictation has commonly prevailed in the Christian Church." I claim, rather, that in every living age of the Church the guiding minds have put the spiritual truth above the letter. Biblical criticism is, of course, like all science, of slow growth. Yet Justin and Clement, in the first years, could teach that the "spermatic Word" spoke through Plato; and throughout the Latin time there were schools of kindred thought. Turn to the Reformation, and you find, as Dorner has fully proved, that Luther's idea of personal faith in Christ led to a large view of inspiration. The theory of dictation was a later overgrowth. I claim as the best expression of early Protestant belief the article of the English Church, which has no theory at all on the subject, but merely affirms that Scripture contains all truth necessary to salvation. This I hold as the sure position against the traditional error, and I am stronger in my own conviction when I can thus cite it as the large rule of faith.

But, again, while my learned friend accepts the truth of the Christian inspiration, I cannot see what real test he gives us. It is, according to him, "a question of experience, which each must decide for himself." We may believe, in a general sense, in the inspiration of the sage or the poet; we may read in a hymn of the Vedas the utterance of what Malebranche calls the "internal divine Reason." But, if there be in the revelation of Christ a truth beyond the Vedas, we cannot rest it on a subjective feeling. The "Phædo" of Plato, the "Antigone" of Sophocles, give me all he expresses in his eloquent words; the "elevation of

mind, the kindling of the spirit, the open vision, which have fed for ages the life of the soul;" but it is another and deeper inspiration I find in the gospels. And this seems to me, therefore, the specific question before us. The doubt of most minds in this day lies just in this point, that they can see no choice save between a vague sentiment or a mechanical dictation of the Bible. I wish to meet this want, by showing the nature of the Christian truth, as it relates to the structure of the written Word; and, if I can do so, I shall have helped their faith in a living revelation.

What do we mean by revelation? It is on this that the whole idea of inspiration rests in the Christian sense. I turn from all definitions to the New Testament. The object of the Christian faith is a Person, who gives us the knowledge not of all problems in Nature or history, but of God, the Father of men, of our sonship in him as redeemed from sin, and partakers of his grace through his Spirit. Such a revelation is in its very nature, therefore, for one essential purpose. All who accept it acknowledge this, whatever their theories about inspiration, when they come to the reality of this one truth. It speaks to us as personal beings, conscious of our relationship to God as children, of our sin and our need of holiness. It is a knowledge that can only be learned by the conscience and the renewed affections, as we grow into it through communion with the Spirit of Christ; and thus his revelation becomes not merely a truth for the mind, but a life of duty to God and men. I am not, of course, here reasoning about such a view of Christianity with any who deny this divine character of it altogether. With them I must go back to a yet deeper question. I am simply stating the common ground of all who hold any belief in a revealed Word. This is the simple, living faith of the New Testament. We accept it in the earliest creed. It is the one truth at the root of our theology; the one bond of fellowship. "I believe"—not in a set of propositions, but—"in God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit." And this, then, is the primary idea of inspiration. Revelation is the one truth of redemption in Christ. Inspiration is the indwelling in our minds and hearts of the Spirit of God, who makes this truth a life.

But we can now see how such a belief bears on the whole

question of the written Word. It tells us its true relation and design. We have in the Scriptures the original record of revelation, given in the form of history, poetry, and prophecy, reaching back to the childhood of the race, from whose roots Christ came; and forward to the close of the apostolic time. It has its meaning for us, from first to last, through its historic connection with the central gospel. But, in the nature of it, it contains much that does not touch the essential character of Christianity: the primitive traditions of the Hebrew people, their chronicles of war, their social morality in every stage of growth. Nothing in these lies beyond the sphere of the human mind. What is our test of inspiration? Whatever in its spiritual truth concerns the divine revelation of Christ. The old covenant declares the one living God, that doctrine which stands alone in the Hebrew book above all faiths of the past; the nature of man as made in his divine image; his self-chosen sin; the holy law; the providential training of the race. The new declares the perfect life, the sacrifice of Christ, the kingdom he established. These are the foundation truths of the written Word. It is not necessary that our ideas of a divine infallibility should go beyond them. Such a theory belongs to the rabbi, who hunted for mysteries in each vowel-point, not to the gospel of Christ. It is the conception of the Koran, not of the New Testament. If I think of the Spirit in that theatrical image of M. Gaussen, as a *maestro* playing on a Moses or Isaiah, as the keys of a grand organ, I have lost not only the truth of the record, but the very principle of revelation. It may be that the theory is often less mechanical than this. Many who hold it admit that the free use of their own mental powers belongs to the penmen of the Scriptures. But the defect is in the notion that revelation must embrace all matters within the record; and that it is therefore necessary to claim infallibility for them. That view answers no riddles of criticism, but creates them. It is a far deeper faith in inspiration, which rests on the simple fact that the aim of the book is not science or historic criticism, but the knowledge of the one Christian truth. Even the one text, so often wrongly quoted, teaches the very principle I claim. "All the scriptures," i. e., the Hebrew, "are God-inspired;" and St. Paul shows clearly his meaning. It is "through faith in Christ Jesus" that

we read them, and so they give us no rabbinical wisdom, but a truth "profitable for teaching, for instruction in righteousness." If we study the Word with this idea of its unity, its whole structure and purpose are clear. The relation of the earlier law to the gospel, the due worth of even its Jewish ritual, the connection of psalm and prophecy with the growth of the people, and the preparation for the nobler revelation of Christ, will be seen far more truly than when we read the book by any forced interpretation. It will not be to us only a national literature, as Matthew Arnold says, with his brilliant half-truth; but, the more we study it, we shall see the unity of the divine mind that alone explains its spiritual features.

And thus I reach the last thought which completes the Christian view of inspiration. It is in such a knowledge of the essential truth of the Word that we have the guidance of the Holy Spirit. This view may seem a mystical one, yet it is the simplest of truths. I mean no doctrine of special revelation, such as the Quaker made it in his denial of an outward Word, or such as has been in all times the source of fanciful interpretation. The Spirit of God acts by the law of our own mental powers. It asks our best intelligence, our use of all the means of knowledge. But it must be in no mere intellectual curiosity, no self-willed opinion, that we study this volume. "If we will know Virgil," says Augustine, "we must have sympathy with the mind of Virgil; and how much more with the mind of Christ!" Let it be to us a volume of only Hebrew or Christian literature, a mass of early traditions, and its essential truth will never reveal itself. Let it be to us this Word, given for our knowledge of God in his Son and for a life of holiness, and our study will be one with our spiritual growth. We shall be able to distinguish that which is of essential worth for our faith from all that is secondary. Questions of science or historic criticism will have their rightful place. We shall not defend the Scripture by any untrue methods, or confound with the abiding truth the old theories of Biblical interpretation. The criticism of the Word must change with the light thrown on Hebrew and Christian history from all sources of later learning. But we shall know that this cannot touch its real character; that it is not in conflict with the results of our study about the formation of the globe or the riddle of primitive

races more than in former days with the Copernican theory, because its design is to teach the knowledge of God and redemption. And thus the Word of truth becomes a life. It is not, as Francis Newman calls it, a book-revelation, although we prize with reverence the book that holds it; it is a truth which abides in the original record and in the Church. It has the witness of the Spirit in the mind of the scholar and the unlettered believer; for it is to all the source of a real holiness, and this inspiration will never pass away.

I find here the ground on which I can rest. It gives me the true relation of faith to science. I do not expect, of course, that it will be accepted by those who deny any divine revelation; but it meets in the fullest way the doubts of all Christian men who are in sore trouble as to the issue of modern criticism. It is for them I seek to offer my own convictions. I have shown why I cannot hold the doctrine of a mechanical or verbal inspiration. To me a theory which makes the revelation of Christ a series of hard riddles instead of a gospel of glad tidings; which can risk the hope of men on the question of the Mosaic cosmogony or the date of the book of Daniel; which could lead a thinker like Mansel to defend the Scripture, by denying that we can apply the moral laws God writes on the conscience to his own action—is a very unsafe weapon of defense. It has led more to unbelief than to faith; it is leading many, in their mistaken idea of Protestant teaching, into that Roman Church which offers its sad relief by the surrender of all thought. But my reasoning will, I trust, show the honest defenders of the theory a surer ground. If I have proved that my view of inspiration is that of the New Testament; that it rests on the foundation truth of revelation; that it gives a living unity in its interpretation; a reasonable belief, and, above all, a faith one with Christian holiness, I have said what I would. I am sure that there are many to-day who, as they have seen their traditional earthworks crumble, are finding that the divine Word is stronger in its own might against a destructive criticism.

E. A. Washburn.

III.

It is my purpose to state as clearly as possible, within the limits allowed me, the answer which the doctrines of the New Church give to the question, "What is inspiration?" For the sake of brevity, I shall not formally quote from the writings of Swedenborg, which contain a full exposition of the subject, but shall state their substance in my own words.

Inspiration is the selection and use by the Lord himself of appropriate natural forms, human actions, and relations, to embody and express spiritual and divine truth in its fullness and harmonies. A man is inspired when the Lord takes such a possession of his mind and utterance that he writes or speaks what the Lord commands him; and what he so writes or speaks is divine truth in natural forms. Inspiration is something more than veracity; it is a revelation of the principles and laws of the divine life, of man's spiritual nature, and of the spiritual world in which he is to dwell forever. Man has no innate knowledge; he must learn everything he knows. He gains a knowledge of this world by means of the senses, and from experience, reflection, and instruction by others. He must get his knowledge of the spiritual world and spiritual beings from those who dwell in that world and possess that knowledge.

A revelation is, therefore, absolutely necessary to any knowledge of the beings and worlds that may exist beyond the realms of the senses. If there are spiritual beings and a spiritual world, man would have no knowledge of them, unless that knowledge were revealed to him; and as, from their nature, they could not be made known to the senses, because they are above their scope, this knowledge must come by inspiration, it must be inbreathed, or come by some action of the Spirit upon the mind by which it is awakened to a consciousness of the existence of spiritual beings, and of the nature of their life and relations to men.

Such knowledge must be spiritual; but it must be communicated under the guise of natural forms. This must of necessity be the case, because, by the supposition, it is communicated to the natural mind. When the Lord speaks to man, he must speak in a language which man can understand in some sense. He must employ material objects, natural ideas, and human rela-

tions, to express divine truth. He must fill them with his Spirit. This he has done in an infinitely wise way, by taking advantage of the relation which necessarily exists between Spirit and Nature.

The spiritual world and the material world are related as cause and effect. The material world is cast into the mould of spiritual forms, as the material body is cast into the mould of the spiritual body. There is, therefore, a correspondence or inherent and necessary connection between Nature and Spirit. We see a perfect example of this law in man himself. There is a correspondence between his spirit and his body, by which all the affections and thoughts of the mind are revealed to others by the motions and actions and changes of form in the body. The state of the affections and thoughts is expressed by tears and laughter, and the various postures of the body, which constitute a natural language. This principle is expressed in the adage, "Actions speak louder than words." Inspiration consists in the selection of those natural objects, human actions, and events, which correspond to spiritual causes, as the motions of the body correspond to the state of the mind which causes them. There is, therefore, a natural relation—that is, a relation which inheres in the nature of things—between the spiritual truth and the natural object used to express it. The material universe is the embodiment of the Divine love and wisdom in natural forms; it is the created speech, the spoken word of the Lord. The Divine life, as it goes forth into creative act, takes on these forms as man's life assumes the forms of natural actions and works.

Before man fell, he had a perception of the meaning of all natural objects, as animals now know the meaning, in a very narrow range, of the material objects which are necessary to their life. He knew what qualities in the Lord and in himself the various objects in the three kingdoms of Nature corresponded to and represented, as every animal knows its own food, and how to build its home. The material universe was, therefore, man's Bible, in which he read the love and wisdom of the Lord as in an open book. Every plant and animal and natural object was inspired; it was the form of a divine affection and thought. Day unto day uttered speech, and night unto night showed knowledge, and there was no voice and no language where their speech was

not heard. Man was himself a part of this revelation, and his actions became the expressions of this truth. The material universe was the stage, and the human race were the actors, in which every material thing and every act represented the Divine love and wisdom.

As man declined from his original perfection, and began to lose the perception of the spiritual and divine meaning of the various objects and actions, he made pictures of them, that he might have them before him to suggest their meaning. He attributed to animals organs which did not belong to them, as wings to lions and bulls, to express a quality more fully than was done by their natural forms alone. In time, men lost the perception of the spiritual meaning of these objects, and began to worship them. Hence arose idolatry and mythology.

As man had lost the true meaning of the created Word, and had entirely falsified it, it became necessary, in order to prevent him from losing all knowledge of the Lord and of spiritual things, that he should have a written revelation. This was given to him by the Lord, the only being who could give it to him, and it was given in the language of correspondences, woven into composed and real histories, in which every natural object, action, and relation, represented a spiritual principle or fact by the inherent relation which exists between spirit and matter.

The Lord himself spoke the word by the prophets, as they often declare. We continually find them saying, "The word of the Lord came to me," "The Lord spake to me," "Thus saith the Lord." Not all the books included in our Bible, however, were spoken in this manner, and though they are good and useful books, possessing about the same kind and amount of inspiration generally accorded to the whole Bible, they do not contain a connected spiritual meaning, and they are not, therefore, the Word of the Lord, and they do not claim to be. The books spoken by the Lord by the mouths of the prophets were the five books of Moses, Joshua, Judges, First and Second Samuel, First and Second Kings, the Psalms, and all the prophets from Isaiah to Malachi, the four Gospels, and the Revelation. These books are written according to the relation between natural and spiritual things. They have, therefore, a spiritual and divine meaning, which is entirely different from the natural. The natural his-

tory, images, objects, and actions, are given to express the spiritual truth.

Every particular mentioned is the exponent of some spiritual truth. Even the numbers and proper names have a spiritual meaning; and their changes, as the insertion of *h* in the names of Abram and Sarai, and the calling of Jacob, Israel, were due to spiritual causes. The numbers three, seven, ten, twelve, and forty, are often used for this reason, and always with the utmost precision. It is well known that light and water represent truth, and that heat and warmth represent love. But it is commonly supposed that this is only in a vague and an indefinite way, as a figure of speech. But these natural substances always stand for their spiritual antetypes, wherever they are mentioned.

The whole Word is written in a universal language, a language of natural objects, and of human actions and relations, which is a divine style, and impossible to a finite mind. It differs from all books of human composition, as the Lord's works differ from human works. Its words are the embodiment of the Divine life. As our Lord says, "The words I speak unto you are spirit and life." Everything mentioned in the Word is the natural effect of a divine truth in a normal or in a perverted form. It is, therefore, like a seed: it can receive the Divine life, and bear spiritual fruit, as the seed of the grape can receive material life from the sun, and grow into a vine and bear grapes. The Lord's love and wisdom are embodied in the histories, prophecies, parables, precepts, and commandments, and are so connected with them that when they are received into the mind and cherished by the affections, they become the means of communicating the Divine life to man. They conduct that life as a wire conducts electricity. Consequently, Swedenborg says: "Man has conjunction with the Lord by means of the Word. The Lord speaks to man in the Word." It is not, therefore, of any consequence whether the prophets and apostles understood what they said or not, because it is not what they thought, but what the Lord thinks, and is, that he desired to communicate. Some of the Word in its letter has no clear and rational meaning. The greater part of it is a narration of natural facts and events which apparently have no reference, except in a most remote manner, to anything spiritual and divine. The

natural authors did not know that they had any other meaning than the natural one. David sang his own sorrows and joys, his own defeats and victories; and, in doing so, he sings the spiritual joys and sorrows, the despair, and hope, and trust, and triumph, of every human being, and of the Lord himself, in the assumption and glorification of his humanity. This principle applies to the whole Word. History, and prophecy, and parable, are given primarily to embody and communicate divine truth. They may be a record of things which took place in this world or not; those who wrote or uttered them might have understood them only in their natural import or not. That is of little consequence. The essential thing is, that every word spoken should be the natural exponent of a divine truth; and that the Lord always provided for. There is not a word in the wildest visions of the prophets, in the driest genealogy, or in the most natural precept, which does not embody a divine truth. The minute and precise directions given by the Lord for the ceremonial worship of the Jews has its cause in the correspondence of every substance, animal, form, and act, to the laws of divine order by which man comes into communion with the Lord. The essential service which Swedenborg has rendered to men consists in restoring to them the knowledge of the lost science of the correspondence between natural and spiritual things, by which they are introduced into a new world of spiritual truth, and the true nature of the Word is disclosed to them.

The Word is also written from two points of view, a divine and a human one. Much of it, especially that which relates to the Lord's attributes and relations to men, is written according to truth as it appears to man in his fallen state, rather than according to the absolute truth. For this reason the Lord is represented as jealous, angry, and revengeful; as hating, punishing, and destroying men; as going, and coming, and changing, according to the changing conditions of men. But, in reality, he is love and wisdom itself, and, as he himself declares, changes not. For this reason there are many contradictions in the letter of the Word, as there are in common speech between scientific accuracy and the motions, qualities, and forms, of the material world as they appear to the senses, or as they actually exist. Thus the Word is adapted to all states from the simplest to the

wisest. There is sufficient truth in plain precept and direct commandment for the guidance of all who live in simple obedience. It contains, also, in every part, truth for the acutest reason and the highest wisdom, if men will look beneath the surface of the letter. The Word of God, like the works of God, cannot be fully fathomed by a finite mind. It rises as we rise; it has something for every one in every state of spiritual progress, and, when it is known that it is written according to the immutable relations between natural and spiritual things, it will be studied as Nature is now studied by scientific men, and the Lord's character and relations to men, and the laws of man's spiritual nature, and the true methods of his regeneration and spiritual development, will be discovered. Man will rise above the appearances of the letter into the clear light of genuine truth; he will come into the true knowledge of the Lord, whom to know aright is life eternal.

CHAUNCEY GILES.

IV.

IT is an old and accepted canon of interpretation that the terms of a record are to be taken in their plain and commonly-received sense; that figures of speech are to be interpreted with reference to the local peculiarities of the country in which the writers resided; that idioms are to be understood according to the genius of the language employed; that whatever is obscure should be explained by what is plain; that the scope of a statement should be considered in determining the meaning of any portion thereof; and that definitions should be sought in the record itself.

Precision of definition is difficult. The difficulty may arise from the limitations of our receptive capacity; from the poverty of human language; from the greatness of the thoughts to be expressed. Let us take three familiar words—life, thought, and civilization—and whoever attempts a satisfactory definition thereof will find that he has essayed a hopeless task. Yet, if words represent ideas, the former should be the complement of the latter. The Bible has a literary character in common with any other book, and its sense is to be judged by the ordinary rules of grammar, rhetoric, and logic. This is its human side. It is in

part history, poetry, biography, ethical and religious. I read Bible history as I read Tacitus and Gibbon, with one exception: I am confident of its infallibility of statement. I read the epic of Job and the Psalms of David as I read Homer and Milton, with one exception: divine truth is never sacrificed for poetic effect. I read the doctrinal teachings of Jesus as I read those of Sakyamuni, with one exception: the former are unmixed truth. And it belongs to my private judgment to decide who the sacred writers were, when and where they wrote, what they wrote, and what their credentials are. The Master said: "Search the Scriptures;" "Ye have Moses and the prophets;" "If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not." Herein is the right of private judgment conceded; this is the Magna Charta of Protestant Christianity. Whether inspiration is fact or fancy, each must decide for himself, but always in the full light of the law of evidence, by all the aids of enlightened criticism, and with profound conscientiousness.

Our word inspiration has the double sense of in-breathing and breathing into, and from the latter comes the word inspire. Twice the term "inspiration" occurs in the Bible. In Job, Elihu is represented as saying, "There is a spirit in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth him understanding," denoting the divine agency in the creation of the human intellect, and in the excitation of the mind to understand truth. This word has its equivalent in Genesis, in the term breathed, which means the production of spiritual life. In the New Testament we have the oft-quoted passage, "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God," the significance of which is not the creation of life, as in the case of Adam, nor of mind, as in the case of Elihu, but implies impartation. In this sense it is used in John: "He breathed on them, and said, Receive ye the Holy Ghost." And the equivalent of this signification is found in the manifold expressions: "The Spirit of the Lord spake by me;" "The Holy Ghost shall teach you;" "I received it by the revelation of Jesus Christ;" "Holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost;" "I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day;" "I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Write." The sum of all these expressions is in the word inspiration. This is something more than human enlightenment. It is divine illumination. It is not

the depression and silence of the individuality of the sacred writers, as one under a power which could not be resisted, but it is human individuality purified, quickened, exalted, and in spiritual intercourse with the personal, living God.

We naturally inquire: What was the physical and mental condition of the sacred writers when in a state of inspiration? Was the inspiration continuous? Were they conscious of the presence of the divine influence when they wrote? Was that divine influence subject to the action of the human reason? Were they other than the media of communication? How did the Spirit operate on their minds? What indications had they when to write and when to cease? Was it a recognized mental impression? Was it a physical sign? Did they hear a voice? Did they behold a vision, or did they write as occasion demanded, as when St. Luke wrote his gospel, and when St. Paul wrote to the church at Corinth? It is recorded that Peter had a vision at mid-day, and heard a voice speak unto him. Paul had a vision at midnight, and heard a voice, and concluded that the "Lord had called him to preach the gospel unto them." Frequently they wrote to meet a religious emergency, which to them was an indication to write. When inspired, their individuality was intact. They were never clairvoyant, never somnambulistic, never phrenetic, as

"The poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling."

The authority with which they wrote is indicative that they were intelligently conscious of the presence of an influence more than human. There was no subjugation of the will and reason; the divine and human elements in their mental actions were inseparable and perfectly harmonious. Their inspiration was continuous, to the effect that all their statements are truthful; but they at times wrote when the revealing assistance of the Holy Ghost was not imparted, and his dictation not given, as when St. Paul expressed his intention to visit Spain, but was providentially hindered; as when he had forgotten whether he had "baptized any other;" as when St. John expressed the uncertainty of hope: "I hope to come to you." In their inspirational states they were sometimes dynamical, sometimes mechanical. In the former case the thought was divine, the language was human; in the

latter case both thought and language were divine, and the writer but the amanuensis of the Spirit, as when St. Paul declares, "Which things we also speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth;" as when St. John says: "I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord: Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labors, and their works do follow them;" and as when the Master said, "It is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you."

Guided by the canon of interpretation previously cited, let us turn to the record itself for our definition of inspiration. That definition is given by Christ, and is fourfold: It is the recollection of what had been said and done by himself and others. It is the suggestion as to what and how much of the past should be recorded. It is the revelation of future events and of doctrinal truth, such as transcend the realm of human thought. It is infallibility in making up the record of all that had been recalled, suggested, and revealed.

"The Holy Ghost shall bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you." He was to stimulate their power of recollection to recall his words and the events of his life, which, though imperishably impressed upon their memories, had for the time being been forgotten. In this manner were recalled the lengthy discourses, conversations, and controversies, of our Lord. Such a supernatural quickening of the recollection was needful, when the dates of the Gospels are considered. St. Luke wrote in the year 64, St. Matthew and St. Mark in 68, St. John in 70. And these several accounts agree in what is written, but are unlike in what is omitted.

"He shall teach you all things." All that the Master said and did is not recorded. The writers were inspired by way of suggestion to select for transmission whatever is essential to faith and practice. Some things are given in full, others in fragments. Much is history in summary. So says St. John: "There are also many other things which Jesus did, the which, if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books which should be written." But no uninspired man could know what to write to promote the ends of revelation. The recorder must be divinely taught to make his selections.

"He will show you things to come," and "He shall receive of mine, and show it unto you." Unto them were to be revealed future events in the history of individuals and of nations in their relation to the spiritual kingdom of our Lord, and also such additional doctrinal truth as would be "profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness."

But that they were the only recipients of religious truth is a claim not made by themselves, and should not be asserted by us. In the Vedas of the Hindoos, in the Five Kings of the Chinese, in the Zendavesta of the Persians, in the Koran of the Moslems, and in the two Eddas of the ancient Germans, there is much religious truth, important in itself and beautifully expressed. And a reverence for Divine Providence inclines us to the belief that Zoroaster, Confucius, Sakyamuni, Socrates, and Mohammed, were providential men, called to be witnesses of God's being to the millions of their countrymen, "if haply they may feel after him and find him." They, however, have uttered no essential truth not contained in the Bible, while the sacred writers have disclosed their errors, and at the same time brought into fullness the fragments of truth which they taught, and which are points of connection with the kingdom of God. And, aside from what they taught, they have given us no proof of their divine mission.

Nor do the penmen of Holy Scripture claim that all inspiration should cease with them. While no new original truth has been given since John wrote his Apocalypse, yet the same Spirit which inspired him has inspired many since, and will inspire many others, to present old truths in new aspects of beauty and of power. In this sense the day of inspiration will abide forever, and godly scholars will ever disclose the infinite variety in infinite unity.

"He shall guide you into all truth." The infallible Inspirer would make them infallible recorders. As historians, they were to be free from mistakes, partiality, prejudice, error; as prophets, they were to foretell the future in truth and with precision. They were "holy men," and therefore would not intentionally misstate facts or record errors; they were preserved from unintentional misstatements and errors, because they were "moved by the Holy Ghost."

All things in the Bible are not revealed—only such as could

not have been discovered by the unaided mind of the writer; but all things in the Scriptures are inspired, in the sense of a truthful record.

Revelation without inspiration would be too uncertain for intelligent faith.

And while it is eminently true that the Spirit did not come to guide the sacred writers into all historical, political, and scientific truth, yet it were the vitiation of the whole record to suppose that they recorded as truth the prevailing errors of their own or of former ages. They profess to record the works of God in creation, and, if their cosmogony is false, their record is worse than useless. Whether we fully understand their cosmogony is quite another thing. Infallibility of interpretation is not in the Church. The change of interpretation, on the part of exegetes, is not proof that Moses did not write with "scientific accuracy." Variations in opinions and changeful interpretations of natural phenomena are as great and as frequent as in the theological world. Newton's emission theory was "scientific accuracy" two hundred years ago, but it is not now. The future of science may be the future biblical cosmogony. Details as to the modes of the divine actions are not necessary to faith. Telescopes should not be confounded with microscopes. Both reveal the unseen, but their action is reverse. The Bible is both telescopic and microscopic. But the sacred writers do not use the telescope to reveal the *animalculæ infusoria*, nor the microscope to discover the moons of Jupiter.

J. P. Newman.

V.

The preceding distinguished writers do not confine themselves, as the reader will notice, to answering the question which stands at the head of this theological symposium. It is impossible, within my narrow limits, to discuss the many issues raised in their essays; but their assertions concerning the test or criterium of inspiration, the right of private judgment, and the alleged intellectual tyranny exercised by the Catholic Church, are so important that they will necessarily claim a few words of comment, after I shall have given a concise answer to the question proposed for discussion.

The Catholic Church has always taught her children to enter-

tain a most exalted idea of the Bible. Her doctrine about the nature and extent of inspiration is as remote from the infidel theories of modern rationalism as it is repugnant to the superstitious fancies of the Talmud.

The Fathers of the Vatican Council expound the doctrine of the Church in these words: "The books of the Old and New Testament are to be received as sacred and canonical . . . . not because, having been composed by mere human industry, they were afterward approved by the Church; nor merely because they contain revelation with no admixture of error; but because having been written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, they have God for their author, and have been handed down to the Church herself as such."

The answer to our question is contained in the declaration that God is the author of Holy Writ in the sense that the Lord impelled, by a supernatural action, certain men to write in such a manner that, according to the full meaning of the word, he may be called the author of the books they wrote. Revelation being simply a supernatural manifestation of truths unknown, is not always necessarily coupled with inspiration. That a book may be looked upon as having God for its author, it is sufficient that the Holy Ghost should have caused the penman to write the thoughts which He wished to communicate, no matter by what means the writer came to the knowledge of them. But revelation is not sufficient for divine authorship, as a book may contain revealed truth and still be the work of man: hence the definitions of councils, the writings of the Fathers of the Church, and modern theological treatises, are not Scripture.

It is the losing sight of this obvious distinction which has led Prof. Hedge and Rev. Dr. Newman to say that the so-called sacred books of the heathen nations which have preserved some fragments of primitive revelation were inspired. This loose phraseology is not only incorrect, but it might, after the fashion of Mr. Frothingham, be readily used by unbelievers to degrade the Bible to the level of the Vedas. We go a step further, and say that no subsequent approbation, by whatsoever authority, can make a book, written by man without supernatural help, become Scripture: it would merely, in that case, possess doctrinal authority.

Then to the question, "What is inspiration?" a Catholic theologian would answer that it is a supernatural help whereby God, at various times down to the end of the Apostolic age, enlightened the minds of certain men that they might know the truths which he wished to deliver in writing to his Church, and moved their wills to write them and nothing else. Thus raised to a supernatural level, these penmen, through divine assistance, fulfilled with unerring accuracy the counsel of God, and consequently is he truly said to be the author of these books.

If we take the gospel narrative as simply reliable history, we will find this doctrine abundantly confirmed with regard to the Old Testament. Christ and the apostles frequently quoted it as a divine work containing God's own message to his people, thereby approving the faith of the Jews, who, according to Josephus and Philo, firmly believed in the supernatural character of their sacred writings.

I need cite no texts, but simply remark, in reference to 2 Timothy iii. 16, that as we are not here concerned with the canon, it matters little whether θεοπνευστος be considered as subject or predicate.*

Finally, it would be easy to show that the great majority of the ancient Fathers held the same view of inspiration as that just presented; but my limits will only allow me to say that with few exceptions they certainly did not teach, nor does the Catholic Church enjoin upon her children the belief, in literal inspiration as described by Prof. Hedge. The diversity of style, the various ways of relating the same events, and the pains which some took to collect their materials, are so many proofs that the individuality of the penmen was far from being absorbed by supernatural influences. In reference to the style, we simply maintain that God preserved the writer from falling into any mistake which would have materially altered the thought.

The scope for which inspiration was given, was not to teach man natural science, but to enable him to reach his supernatural destiny. It is not, therefore, a matter of surprise if the sacred writers use the language of their time. It would, then, be pre-

* *See* "Theological Essays," by the eccentric but scholarly T. De Quincey (vol. i., p. 84, Boston, 1873). A very interesting dissertation on the "Spermatic Word," referred to by Dr. Washburn, is to be found in his works.

posterous to look in the Bible for what passes to-day for scientific accuracy; but Catholics have always been taught that, rightly interpreted, it is not only infallible in what concerns faith and morals, but that, moreover, it contains no historical misstatement or any error about physical facts. The history of Nature and of man is so intimately connected with dogma and moral duties that, to admit the possibility of error in the inspired penmen would not only be derogatory to him who can neither deceive nor be deceived, but it would also be conceding to infidels all that for which they are, in our days, contending.

I am surprised that the writers of the above articles, who are so greatly puzzled to find a satisfactory test of inspiration, should have overlooked the plain fact that the approbation of the Jewish Scriptures by Christ and the apostles places their divine origin beyond controversy; but the criteria brought forward in the above essays are inadequate to prove the inspiration of the New Testament. Christian ages have received it as the word of God; but it was surely not for the reason assigned by Prof. Hedge. The Bible has guided and consoled many weary souls; but so have letters dictated by friendship or parental love. If books that produce in the reader what the professor calls inspiration are Holy Writ, then are Plato's "Dialogues," or Bunyan's "Allegory," as truly inspired as are the Sapiential books or the Song of Solomon.

That many whom Christians delight to honor are far from experiencing the wonderful effects of Bible-reading, no further proof is needed than the wide-spread tendency of our time to infidelity. Inspiration being a supernatural fact, reason, which cannot transcend Nature, is only competent to consider the motives of credibility that prove, beyond the shadow of a doubt, the testimony of a divinely-appointed witness to be infallible; and then natural law binds man to believe, without doubting, that fact as God's truth.

The test advocated by Rev. Dr. Washburn, which is the indwelling in us of the Spirit, has the serious disadvantage of not being susceptible of proof. No peremptory text can be adduced. But even granting the clearness of the passages usually relied on, they would prove nothing, since there is here question of an illumination supernatural and subjective, about which a mere

historian, however veracious he may be, is no competent witness. In other words, the Scripture cannot be taken to prove the internal witness, and the internal witness to prove the Scripture. Let, however, no one imagine that this argument can be retorted against the Church, because her mission is proved by plain historical evidence. To those who deny the indwelling of the Spirit, it could be proved only by miracle.

On this theory the wildest fanatic cannot be reclaimed, because, in spite of all sound reasoning, he will cling to what, for him, are the promptings of the Holy Spirit. The witness, then, to the fact of inspiration must not only be infallible, because faith excludes doubt; but divinely appointed, because inspiration is a supernatural fact; and, lastly, external, because Christianity is a social religion susceptible of proof to the reason, not in itself, but indirectly through motives of credibility in the witness which Christ has appointed to teach all nations.*

Rev. Dr. Newman seeks for it in the promise made by Christ of the Holy Spirit to the apostles. This test, upon which the celebrated Michaelis placed great reliance, is likewise inadmissible. Mark and Luke were not apostles; and, if it be said that the disciples of the twelve enjoyed their privileges, then by what rule does the reverend doctor exclude from the canon the letters of Clement, the book of Hermas, and many other such writings?

Christ did not send forth his apostles to write a complete system of divinity and teach all nations how to read under pain of damnation, but to preach his word. If they did write, the circumstances under which they took up the pen, as well as the structure of their writings, evidently show that their purpose was not to put on paper all the truths they had been commissioned to transmit to their successors for the instruction of future generations. The words of Christ (John v. 39), as addressed to the Pharisees, who could not see in the Scripture his divine mission, do not surely mean that our Lord made it obligatory for all, high and low, who were to believe in him, to learn how to read and be able to understand properly, even in what concerns the most important matters, a collection of books written, at various times, by

* Want of space must be my apology for not adverting to Swedenborg's doctrine of correspondences, so ably presented by Rev. Chauncey Giles. I can only pray for a fair opportunity.

historians, wise men, poets, and seers—books that record the history of man for four thousand years, together with the sublimest doctrines of the supernatural order. It is absurd to suppose it—Christ knew what was in man, and he loved him too tenderly to merely throw in his face the cold letter of a dead page, instead of giving to him the living word of those with whom he promised to dwell to the end. Men who obstinately refuse to see this will never understand the divine economy of the Incarnation and Redemption.

To the masses the Bible will ever be as incomprehensible as it was to the eunuch baptized by Philip the deacon. An irresistible instinct of their helplessness will ever compel them to cast about for a teacher. We build schools for them, we instruct them from the rostrum and from the stump. They may read the Bible, but their creed will be shaped by the symbols of the sects, the Sunday-school teacher, and the weekly sermons of the preacher.

Ritualists appeal to antiquity, thereby denying the fundamental Protestant tenet, that the Bible is all-sufficient. Those, moreover, among them who have examined the records of antiquity have soon found that its testimony may be summed up in the saying of St. Augustine, that he would not believe the sacredness of the Bible, were it not for the authority of the Catholic Church; this authority it is which alone makes the Christian world secure in the true faith.

Perpetuity, on the other hand, is the unmistakable proof of the divine origin of the church Catholic or Universal. The children of Christ can, without difficulty, trace her origin and mission to him by the light of the most public and reliable historical facts and documents. Having proved to Jew and Gentile her divine authority by miracles, she was competent to approve the books of the New Testament as inspired. She is, then, logically as well as historically, anterior to Scripture. The exercise of her authority is no usurpation, and therefore there is no more tyranny in her requiring submission to her decisions than it is tyranny in a legitimate government to expect loyalty from its subjects and obedience to just laws. As the demonstrations of science or the incidents of well-authenticated history do not abridge our legitimate freedom of thought, so neither does the submitting of our

intellects to God's truth, as declared by an infallible witness, reduce us to mental or spiritual slavery; on the contrary, the Church alone communicates to us the priceless liberty purchased by Him who is the truth.

The Catholic test of inspiration is the only one which has the requisite conditions or characteristics of being infallible, easily obtained, and perpetual. It is the only rule which corresponds to the rational and moral wants of man, and thence it is that the Catholic Church alone has succeeded in converting heathen nations.

JAMES GIBBONS, *Archbishop of Baltimore.*

VI.

THE word "inspiration" furnishes an excellent example of the way in which a whole theory of the universe may be imbedded in an etymology. In its origin the word means a "breathing in," or suggestion from some external source, of thoughts not natural to the writer or speaker. The non-naturalness of the thought is an essential part of the definition, since, if the thought be such as would naturally arise, through ordinary logical or emotional sequence, in the mind of the writer or speaker, there is no reason for referring it to any external source. That thoughts often do come into the mind unbidden, and apparently without any assignable immediate antecedent, is a matter of the commonest experience. From the purposeless succession of phantasms in idle reverie up to the orderly visions of Milton, the melodious themes of Beethoven, or even the wonderful flashes of insight of Newton or Faraday, we have instances of visual or auditory images, or apprehensions of physical truths, entering and occupying the foreground of consciousness suddenly and without warning. The more valuable and striking instances of this sort are, in modern parlance, described as cases of inspiration, though by this phrase no more is now meant than to designate some rare or admirable kind of normal mental action. The modern student has learned that consciousness has a background as well as a foreground—that a number of mental processes go on within us, of which we cannot always render a full and satisfactory account. Many a link of association is buried beneath the surface, and the

coveted flash of memory, of judgment, or of fancy, does not always come at our bidding. To account for this group of phenomena, modern psychologists have propounded various theories of "latent mental action" or "unconscious cerebration;" but no one now resorts to the hypothesis that such phenomena are due to the operation of some outside spirit or intelligence acting upon the mind. Hypotheses of this sort do not harmonize with the accumulated experience of modern times, and they have become utterly and hopelessly discredited.

In ancient times, however, the case was entirely different. In one of the most enlightened and skeptical communities of antiquity we find one of the most enlightened and skeptical minds habitually explaining the suggestions of its own supreme common-sense by ascribing them to the dictation of an indescribable external agency. The *daimonion*, or familiar warning spirit, of Socrates shows how consonant with the general theories of the ancients was the conception of inspiration in its full and literal sense. In the stage of culture thus exemplified every bright stroke of genius was interpreted as the result of inspiration, though it was naturally in cases of supreme practical importance that the interpretation was most forcibly felt and most thoroughly believed. The poet's invocation to the Muse was at first no doubt much more than a faded metaphor; but it is beyond question that men like Isaiah and Mohammed believed themselves to be mere mouth-pieces of the living word of God.

The belief in inspiration, as thus generally cherished in ancient times, seems to have grown out of a more primitive belief in *possession*, which is found everywhere current among savage and barbarous tribes, and which, until within a few generations, has maintained itself even in the Christian world. The subject has been treated in an elaborate and masterly manner by Mr. Tylor in the second volume of his great work on "Primitive Culture." In the lower stages of culture, the morbid phenomena of hysteria, epilepsy, and mania, are explained by the hypothesis of a foreign spirit, which is supposed to have taken temporary possession of the body or earthly tabernacle of the patient. In Christian cases of exorcism, this foreign spirit was naturally supposed to be of diabolical character; but in the cruder theory of the barbarian no such uncanny suspicion is attached to it. On

the contrary, the possessed person is usually regarded as an exceptionally valuable source of information concerning the supernatural world to which the possessing spirit belongs. Alike in the medicine-man of the American Indian, and in the Pythian priestess of Delphi, may be seen the close theoretical connection between disease-possession and oracle-possession. The Zulu diviners ascribe their hysterical symptoms to possession by "amatongo," or ancestral spirits; and the Siberian *shamans* select epileptic children to be educated for the priesthood, which is thus "apt to become hereditary along with the epileptic tendencies it belongs to." In the primitive theory, the diviner or prophet can give information from the supernatural world because his own personality is for the time being supplanted by the personality of the foreign spirit which has come to dwell in his body. This is the theory of oracle-possession, and from this to the theory of inspiration, as generally current in antiquity, it is evidently but a short step. Instead of supplanting the personality of the prophet, the foreign spirit has but to be conceived as swaying or influencing the prophet's mind from without, and this step is taken; instead of possession we have inspiration.

Thus in its origin the word "inspiration" is implicated with a whole theory of the universe—or, to speak more appropriately, with a general way of looking at natural phenomena. In the lower stages of culture men know nothing of a *universe*, but they contemplate natural phenomena as under the capricious direction of innumerable ghostly beings similar to men. In most cases, indeed, these demons or deities are supposed to be the ghosts of ancestral chieftains. The philosophy which interprets Nature in this way is extremely crude, but it is quite intelligible and consistent with itself; and, when a barbarian speaks of his prophet as "inspired" by the tutelary deity of the tribe, we know exactly what he means. He means that the words are whispered or otherwise suggested to the prophet by the ghost of some old chief of the tribe; and, when he himself has thoughts, waking or sleeping, which he cannot readily account for, he thinks that these are similarly suggested to him by some ghostly demon or deity. The *daimonion* of Socrates was a specimen of just this sort of barbaric psychology.

Now, in modern times and among Christian peoples, this

primitive philosophy of Nature is pretty thoroughly superseded. The tendency of modern thought is strongly toward a very strict monotheism. An imperfect monotheism had long ago driven out the general notion of innumerable ghost-deities; but Christianity arose at a time when the primitive philosophy was still very strong, and it has always been more or less incrusted with heathen conceptions. In recent times, however, the prolonged study of physical science has begun to tell powerfully upon all our habits of thought; and one effect of this is, that we have at last really begun to grasp the conception of the unity of God, in the only sense in which such a conception can have any validity. We have begun to conceive of Divine action as uniform, incessant, and general, throughout each and every region of the universe, however vast or however tiny, so that the infinite whole is animated forever by one immutable principle of life; and this conception we call, in common parlance, the conception of a government of law and not of caprice. So strong has this habit become that we look with distrust upon any hypothesis which implies a conception of Divine action as in any sense local, or special, or transitory.

The hypothesis of inspiration has been retained by modern Protestant Christianity, chiefly as a means of accounting for the assumed infallibility or supernatural excellence of the literature gathered together in the canonical Scriptures. It is supposed that the writers of these works were in some way instructed by Divine action, so that their works are either entirely true in every statement, or at least may claim to be examined in accordance with different canons of criticism from those which we feel bound to apply to all other works. Now, this hypothesis most certainly implies a conception of Divine action as local, special, and transitory; and, in so far as it does this, it bears the marks of that heathen mode of philosophizing which was current when Christian monotheism arose, and which has incrusted Christianity with many of its conceptions. It is obviously not an hypothesis in accord with the very strict monotheism toward which modern thought is so manifestly tending, and it is not likely long to survive unless upheld by very weighty evidence. Such evidence might be forthcoming if the various books of the Bible had been found able to withstand every test of scientific and literary criti-

cism that could be brought to bear upon them, and come out unscathed in every statement. Such a phenomenon would at least have been very remarkable, but in point of fact the outcome of Biblical criticism has been very different from this. A century of intense study and searching controversy has superabundantly proved that the Bible not only contains much that conflicts both with modern knowledge and with modern morality, but that the various parts of it, often hopelessly contradict each other in matters of fact, and sometimes present irreconcilable divergences in matters of doctrine, while minor errors of historical or philological interpretation abound in it throughout. In view of such a conclusion there would seem to be no need for any hypothesis of special Divine action in the composition of the Bible. On the contrary, the belief in the peculiar inspiration of this collection of books should probably be regarded as one of the incumbrances with which Christianity has been loaded by the old heathen way of looking at things.

A sad incumbrance it certainly is to any one who truly loves and reveres the Bible. To make a fetich of the best of books does not, after all, seem to be the most reverent way of treating it. Take away the discredited hypothesis of infallibility, and the errors of statement and crudities of doctrine at once become of no consequence, and cease to occupy the attention. It no longer seems worth while to write puerile essays to show that the Elohist was versed in all the conclusions of modern geology, or that the books of Kings and Chronicles tell the same story. The spiritual import of this wonderful collection of writings becomes its most prominent aspect; and, freed from the exigencies of a crude philosophy and an inane criticism, the Bible becomes once more the book of mankind.

John Fiske.

VIII.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

1.—*Memorial and Biographical Sketches.* By James Freeman Clarke. Boston: Houghton, Osgood & Co. The Riverside Press, Cambridge. 1878. Pp. 434.

The nineteen articles that make up this handsome and readable book differ very much from each other in purpose and workmanship, yet they all illustrate the characteristics that give the author his distinguished and somewhat unique position among the liberal scholars and theologians of Massachusetts. Some of them are slight off-hand sketches, such as the notices of Susan Dimock, George Keats, and Drs. Gannett and Channing, while other articles are elaborate studies, such as the memorials of John A. Andrew, James Freeman, Charles Sumner, Theodore Parker, and the essays upon Shakespeare, Rousseau, and Washington, which differ from all else in the volume by dealing with historical celebrities instead of contemporaries and personal friends. But, however different are the subjects and the manner of these papers, they all show the same comprehensive judgment and disposition, with the same plucky temper and decided conviction. In fact, Dr. Clarke is in his way at once a Catholic and a Protestant, a liberal and a partisan, such as Boston has never before produced, and such as New England favors less than Old England. He belongs to the Unitarian denomination, yet he praises his parishioner, Governor Andrew, for associating in a cordial way with Roman Catholics and Methodists, and he pays a hearty tribute to Dr. R. J. Breckinridge, the Presbyterian, without implying that a Presbyterian, as such, needs to be apologized for by an enlightened Unitarian.

The author even carries his charity into the sphere of reform, where partisanship has been most bitter, and, after speaking of Dr. Gannett's sermon in favor of returning fugitives to slavery under the Constitution, he says: "His truthfulness was perfect. So against his sympathies, which were always with the unhappy, he had

preached his sermon, taking what was called conservative ground." He gives Dr. Gannett also the credit of opposing harsh dealings with Theodore Parker among the Boston Unitarian clergy, and of standing up manfully for Christian liberty on the old liberal platform. The author deals gently with Theodore Parker's extravagances, and calls him "Our Boston Socrates—our gift of God—our Theodore." Yet he does not let him off without serious strictures, and he thinks his Christology and his Anthropology defective in exaggerating the power of the will, and taking little account of transmitted evil, and the need of forgiveness and redemption. He regards Parker as cruel and severe in his invective; and he cannot approve of his severity. "I consider it false because extravagant; unjust, because indiscriminate; unchristian, because relentless and unsympathizing." Yet he does not forget that Parker was himself harshly denounced, and that zealots prayed in public for his death. Charles Sumner is treated more mildly by the author, and, while he allows that the famous Senator was quite fond of praise, he maintains that this fact entitles him to more honor for his independence and for his devotion to an unpopular cause.

Dr. Clarke's book has value from his Western experience and his traits of Western life and persons. Four of the sketches are from his Western residence in Louisville (1833–'40), and they are of much interest, and the friends of George Keats will be especially grateful for the hearty and discriminating tribute to the author's parishioner, the brother of the writer of "Endymion;" while journalists will be glad to have this strong and truthful portrait of George D. Prentice, editor of the *Louisville Journal*. Here as elsewhere pastoral tenderness is combined with plain speaking, and the whole volume should be welcomed as a fine example of the new breadth and manhood of the pastoral office, and its ability to deal with civic and literary as well as ethical and theological subjects. Thus, the full treatment of Governor John A. Andrew, in a paper of sixty-five pages, and the shorter sketch of Dr. Walter Channing, the physician, are both pastoral remembrances, and they show how much of the old Puritan parish relation may remain in the new times and under the new conditions. The author seems to have had that new character, a medical woman, in his parish, and his tribute to the worth of Dr. Susan Dimock has the air of a pastoral memorial. The sketches of James Freeman and William Hull have a still closer interest in having for their author a near kinsman of those distinguished men.

Dr. Clarke's intellectual position may perhaps be most decidedly inferred from his paper on Washington, in which he selects Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, and Abraham Lincoln, as the four greatest Americans, and from his opinion that "William Shakespeare stands at the summit of human intelligence; that of all mankind, since creation, his is the supreme intellect." The range of the author's liberality may be judged from his defense of Rousseau against the charge of being an infidel, and his pronouncing him to be a Christian who had doubts about the miracles. Perhaps careful students of Rousseau who might not object to this statement of his belief would be less satisfied with the author's view of Rousseau's genius and career. "He was a man of genius—that is, a man of ideas; but the ideas which possessed him were not those of the eighteenth century, but of the nineteenth." For Rousseau would have suffered from his weakness in our century so long as he kept his essential characteristic as a man who was run away with by his feelings, and whose most positive ideas were all electric and tremulous with sensibility, the slave of his emotions and perhaps of his passions to the last. In his treatment of Rousseau, as of Shakespeare, the author looks mainly at the intellectual aspects of genius, and little comparatively to its practical force and artistic ability. Therefore he throws little light on the Genevan's marvelous style and the Englishman's marvelous constructive art. How to think the subject out is one thing, and how to put the thought or fancy into shape and life, this is another thing, and one which is not much discussed in this instructive and interesting but somewhat fragmentary volume.

2.— *Villari's Machiavelli.* Pasquale Villari. *Niccolò Machiavelli e i suoi tempi illustrati con nuovi documenti.* Vol. I. Firenze: Successori Le Monnier. 1877. 8vo, pp. xx.–647.

Of the many problematical characters of the Renaissance, none has been judged more severely or more differently than Machiavelli. For some he is the patriotic statesman who first realized the idea of the modern state; for others he is the sycophant and apologist of a despot who wished to enslave his country; while those who judge him from the standpoint of literary history frown on him as an immoral playwright. In common with other great countrymen, Machiavelli has followed the vicissitudes of Italy. Nothing is more interesting than to trace the posthumous career of Dante and Petrarch, for example, and see through what different

phases they have passed, from mere poets to exponents of modern political systems. Machiavelli, from the nature of the case, has always taken a prominent place among the public men of Italy, but the changes of his posthumous fame have not been less clearly marked. The phase on which Italy has just entered bids fair to produce a revolution in her past history ; it must be rewritten or reread in the reflected light of the present. Not merely that the increase of intellectual activity has brought out from dusty archives (now made accessible for the first time to scholars) masses of hitherto unused material, but the national consciousness sees a new and deep significance in a past whose sporadic and ineffectual efforts after national unity are all precious to a generation that has achieved the great boon. Doubtless we shall hear much about rehabilitation, but there can be no question that we shall obtain a truer idea of many things that puzzle us in that most puzzling of all epochs—the Renaissance. It is, as we have just hinted, Machiavelli's political ideas which, viewed in the light of the present, assume such interesting proportions, that have brought him just now into prominence, and tempted one of Italy's greatest scholars to undertake the task of giving the world for the first time a correct picture of the man who, with all his great genius, was simply the war secretary of the Florentine Commonwealth.

The author, so favorably known by his admirable "Life of Savonarola," * appreciating the fact that it is only by an acquaintance with the period that one can understand Machiavelli's life, has prefixed to his biography proper an elaborate introduction of three hundred pages, divided into four parts. The first gives a general and vivid sketch of the Renaissance ; the second treats briefly the history and condition of the principal Italian states—Milan, Florence, Venice, Rome, and Naples ; the third describes the literary movement of the period from Petrarch and the beginning of the Renaissance down to the revival of Italian literature in the fifteenth century ; and, finally, the fourth discusses the political state of Italy at the end of the fifteenth century, the election of Pope Alexander VI., the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII., the Borgias, and Savonarola and the Florentine Republic. This elaborate introduction will, doubtless, be compared with two recent works covering much the same ground : we allude to the fourth book of Von Reumont's "Lorenzo de' Medici" (Leipsic, 1874, 2 vols.), in which he gives a splendid account of the Medici in their relations to literature and

* Translated by Leonard Horner. London : Longmans. 1863. 2 vols.

art, and Symonds's "Renaissance in Italy" (London, 1875–1877), the first two volumes of which describe the social, political, and literary conditions of this period. While Villari's introduction is more condensed, its outlines are necessarily sharper, no feature of importance is omitted, and it would be difficult to find elsewhere a more admirable *résumé* of the history of the Italian Renaissance.

The introduction is followed by a portion of the first book, which is to contain the biography of Machiavelli from his birth in 1469 to his removal from office by the Medici in 1512. The first volume contains the biography only to the year 1507. An appendix of over a hundred pages contains a large number of inedited documents, among them many autograph letters and reports.

The period of Machiavelli's life here narrated is, like almost all of it, a record of his services to the state, the most interesting consisting of an interminable series of embassies, in which he had all the labor and none of the honor of an embassador. In this period fall his first legation to France, and the beginning of his connection with Cæsar Borgia, which was to bring such infamy on him. The end of the volume coincides with the institution of the Florentine militia, 1505–1507. We must await the appearance of the second volume (which the author, unfortunately, does not promise very soon) before we can form a clear opinion of the new Machiavelli. Whatever may be the judgment of the author, the reader and the future world will have for the first time all the materials for the formation of an independent opinion, and the means of testing the views of others.

We must not omit, in conclusion, to add that to the author's painstaking researches we owe the valuable and interesting dispatches of Giustinian, the Venetian embassador at Rome from 1502 to 1505,* which Villari found in the Venetian archives while collecting the materials for the present work.

3.—*A Statistical Account of Bengal.* By W. W. Hunter, LL. D., Director-General of Statistics to the Government of India, etc., etc. London: Trübner & Co. 1875–'77. 8vo, 20 vols.

This great and important work is only the first installment of one still greater and more important. The British Government has undertaken to assemble and publish, upon a uniform plan, a body

* *Dispacci di Antonio Giustinian, Ambasciatore veneto in Roma dal* 1502 *al* 1505. *Per la prima volta pubblicati da* Pasquale Villari. Firenze: Successori Le Monnier. 1876. 3 vols., 12mo.

of statistical information respecting its whole immense Asiatic empire, with the further intention that the results won shall be condensed and digested into an Imperial Gazetteer of India. Twenty volumes of such material may seem at first sight a great deal; but that is only because we realize so little the vast scale of Indian circumstances and interests. Each volume of the present series deals with a region having a population of about three million souls. The series concerns a people both more numerous and more varied in character (as the preface points out) than that of England, Scotland, Ireland, Norway, Holland, Sweden, and Italy, taken together. And Bengal is but one of twelve administrative equals, though the greatest among them. English and feudatory India has been found by a recent census to contain near 250,000,000 inhabitants—a greater number than are to be found in all Europe, if Russia only be excluded. To finish the work on the same scale will, it is evident, require toward a hundred volumes.

Its plan was formed about ten years ago, under an urgency always felt and acknowledged, and in the light of experience derived from more than one costly failure. The extreme importance of detailed and accurate knowledge of the country and its people to the success of administration, especially in the hands of a centralized government, of foreign origin, is too obvious to need pointing out. Where, as in the case of India, the rulers are more intelligent and energetic than the ruled, and wholly well-wishing toward the latter, failure to secure happiness must have its foundation mainly in ignorance of actual conditions and needs. Such ignorance the English have always been fighting against. Great stores of information have been gathered and piled away in the archives, or sent home to England; but, for want of unity of plan, continuity of management, and promptness of reduction to published form, they have been in no small measure gathered in vain. Now, however, a single bureau of statistics for the whole empire has been constituted, and has been placed under the management of a man whose appointment is equivalent to an assurance of success for the scheme. Dr. Hunter has long been employed in this kind of work in India, and has shown that he possesses a genius for it. His "Annals of Rural Bengal," first put forth in 1868, made a very marked sensation, attracting to Indian affairs a wider and keener interest than any other work of its class ever inspired; it was republished and found numerous readers and admirers in this country, and it has reached in England its fifth edition. His "Orissa," also

(2 vols., 18 —), a similar account of the neighboring province, attained a like success. His series of inquiries, intended to guide the local authorities in the assembling of materials, were sent out in 1869; and they were followed up with such persistent and effective energy that only eight years later he was able to lay before the world, complete, the account of the province of which he had been made the special editor, and at the same time to report that for all the other provinces the compilation of results was well in hand, and for some of them already verging toward completion. A few more years will doubtless see the end reached—so far as there is an end to reach: for it is obvious that such a task is never done, and must always, too, be doing over and over.

The district, which is the unit of administration, is made also the unit of statistical description: there are 225 districts in all India, about a quarter of them lying within the limits of the Province of Bengal. In each district, the geography and general aspect are first taken up; then the population, from the points of view of its ethnological and other divisions (as by religion and caste), its occupations, its material condition, its native administrative institutions, its manners and customs, its distribution in towns and villages, and so on; next follows all that relates to the production and distribution of wealth, the agriculture and manufactures, the communication and commerce—a division under this head being formed by the natural calamities (including "foreign and absentee landholders"); then the administrative history is described, in regard to revenue and expenditure, civil and criminal law, education, etc.; and meteorological, medical, and sanitary matters close the catalogue. Each volume contains a map, and a good index of the subjects treated; and the last volume has a general index to the whole series, together with an account of the fisheries and fishes, and of the botany, of the whole province.

It will readily be seen what a mine of varied and valuable materials is here offered to the student of human history; and a possible false impression as to the mode of presentation derivable from the word "statistical" in the title should be guarded against. The matter has only to a very small extent the aspect of a tabulated array of statistics, like a census report. It is, on the contrary, in great part eminently readable, like Dr. Hunter's other works. Historical and literary notices abound in it; it is rich in curious information respecting peculiar races and classes and occupations; the industries of indigo and jute cultivation, and of the introduced

tea and Peruvian bark, are interestingly described: the temple and worship of Jagannath, the Christianization of the Kols, the remnants of the native system of Sanskrit instruction, and the like, come up for notice in their proper connection.

A uniform and well-considered method of writing proper names has been adopted throughout, and will doubtless help efficiently toward putting an end to the prevailing confusion.

4.—*Poems and Ballads.* By Algernon Charles Swinburne. (Second Series.) New York: R. Worthington, 750 Broadway. 1878. 12mo, pp. 296.

Mr. Swinburne has given sufficient proof of native genius and masterly art in his previous works to make his readers open this new volume with eager anticipation of charming verse as well as of original creation. But, strange to say, the first impression of the book is of its vagueness and obscurity. The language is simple enough, the words are exquisitely put together, and the verse generally flows like music, but it is often hard to tell what it all means. Several of these pieces, such as "Choriambics," "A Song in Season," and "Two Leaders," give at first no idea of what the writer had in his mind, yet there is no obscure word or intricate sentence to puzzle us, but the haze is over the whole poem, and you see as the blind man, men as trees walking; and you doubt whether the fault is in your eyes or in the landscape. Probably this difficulty in understanding the poet comes from two causes—one from his way of thinking or of failing to think, and the other from his style of expression.

He does not seem to care to think distinctly, but prefers to live in the dreamy region of sentiment and emotion, fancy and reverie. Thus, run through his thrice three "Triads," beginning thus:

> "The word of the sun to the sky,
> The word of the wind to the sea,
> The word of the moon to the night,
> What may it be?"

You note that all these various objects look each other in the face without saying what they mean, nor does the poet tell you what they mean, nor does he make it clear why he does not tell you why you can never know:

> "Till the secret be secret no more
> In the light of one hour as it flies,
> Be the hour as of suns that expire
> Or suns that rise."

Of course so careful and accomplished a writer means something in what he says, but he seems to make his thought as shadowy and dreamy as possible; and evidently his false and bad philosophy has infected his poetry with its Buddhist nihilism, and led him to measure inspiration by its fall into the Nirvāna of trance, rather than by its rise into the heaven of thought and life. His poem "Sestina" contains a fair description of this torpor that has settled down upon his intellect and will:

> "This was the measure of my soul's delight;
> It had no power of joy to fly by day,
> Nor part in the large lordship of the light;
> But in a secret moon-beholden way
> Had all its will of dream and pleasant night
> And all the love and life that sleepers may."

The second cause of his haziness is apparently in his turn of expression, especially in his passion for melody above all other graces and lights of poetry. For him articulate speech is almost lost in song, and his Muse has tone rather than voice, and she might sometimes do almost as well with a flute or harp as with words. In fact, several of these pieces had better be played upon an instrument, than read or sung; for the thought is so much adrift, and in a fog upon the waves of melody, that it is better to let the thought go, and to hear the waves play and dance at their own sweet or wild will. Some critics may call this a gain, because they say music is better than speech; but true art does not agree to this, and it is the rational word and not mere tone that gives man his distinctive mark, and lifts the poet so near to the Eternal Mind.

It is the boast of Swinburne's school to be free from the old-fashioned rule that compelled the poet to have a purpose in his work. Art for its own sake, and not for anything outside, this is the new motto, and there is a certain truth in it, so far as it bids art be true to itself and to its subject, and not to confound its office with the preacher's task. Yet every artist will have some aim in what he does, even if it is his aim not to have any; and Swinburne and his set are evidently drifting toward aims and notions that are neither lovely, wise, nor good, according to the code of the great masters of song. There are some things in this volume that are not cloudy, and these are not by any means the best things. The clearest passages are the pictures of love or rather of lust; and, while these erotic verses may be beautiful art to the writer, they are bad morals to the average reader, and are likely to be remembered when the

lines of hazy sentiment are forgotten. Pure taste may delight in such pictures of Iseult's complexion and eyes as these verses give us :

> "Such maiden heat, as if a rose's blood
> Beat in the live heart of a lily-bud."

And again of her eyes he speaks :

> "As the wave's subtler emerald is pierced through
> With the utmost heaven's inextricable blue."

Yet there are other passages that have no beauty to redeem their passion ; and one poem, from the French of Villon, is too filthy to be published here in this "sad, bad, glad, mad brother's name," being only bad, and not at all glad, as the translator says.

Better things may be hoped of Swinburne ; and such pieces as "A Forsaken Garden," "Four Songs of Four Seasons," and some others, have his old force and point with maturer thought. Such patriotic poems too as "The White Czar," "Rizpah," and "Kossuth," show that, when he gets mad with Russia, he speaks out his mind, and leads us to believe that he may wake up from his trance, and with sounder thinking and more wholesome action take the place that belongs to him among the great masters of English song. He begins the volume with a hymn to Apollo, and this piece, with his two sonnets to Giordano Bruno, whom he classes, not wholly justly, with Lucretius and Shelley, indicates the pronounced paganism of his philosophy, if any philosophy he has. Other pieces, such as his "Inferiæ," and his "Winter in Northumberland," touch more hopeful chords, that come near Tennyson's ideal strain, and relieve us somewhat from the fear that Aphrodite rather than Apollo has him in keeping now.

5.—*Tropical Nature, and other Essays.* By Alfred R. Wallace, author of "The Malay Archipelago," "The Geographical Distribution of Animals," etc. London : Macmillan & Co. 1878. 8vo, pp. xiii.–566.

This book does not claim to be so elaborate and commanding a treatise as the author's recent work on "The Geographical Distribution of Animals," which made an epoch in that branch of natural history, but it is in its way quite as interesting and instructive, carrying out as it does the principles of that work, and adding facts and descriptions full of attraction and instruction. The first three chapters, which treat of the climate, vegetation, and animal life, of the

equatorial zone, the belt reaching twelve degrees each side of the equator, are at once a careful survey and a charming romance. The description of the temperature, the rainfall, the equable days and nights, the wonderful growths of the soil, the great forest-belt, the marvelous insects and birds, the peculiar reptiles and beasts, is delightful. What is said of the palm and the bamboo, the butterflies, bees, beetles, and ants, the snakes and lizards, parrots and humming-birds, bats and monkeys, makes the reader open his eyes in wonder, and may make his hair stand on end sometimes in fear. What is most remarkable, however, in the narrative is the alleged difference of the whole character of the equatorial region from the decided notion that generally prevails. This region, instead of being given over to change and violence, is the most steadfast part of the globe, and the temperature, habit, inhabitants, and life, vary less than anywhere else. The climate of Batavia, for instance, six degrees below the equator, varies less than that of London, and the mean highest temperature there in July—85°—is not high enough to scare out of his senses any New-Yorker who has lived through this last midsummer month of fire. This equatorial zone exhibits peculiar constancy in the conditions of vegetable and animal life, and evolution has had a fair chance to develop its growths without the numberless difficulties that are always interfering with Nature in the changeable temperature ranges, with their cold and ice.

We call attention to three distinctive conclusions of the author, which give this volume its chief importance among thinking men, and especially among students of science. In the first place, he is quite copious and positive upon the subject of color, and he regards this as an organic development of vigorous life, and, as such, owing its power not so much to sexual selection as to natural selection; not so much to the choice of a mate with fine feathers or skin as of one with the vigorous constitution that is sure to have fine feathers or hide. The second distinctive view of Mr. Wallace is his rebuke of the dogmatic spirit of the new science, which he thinks very much like the old theological dogmatism. He finds no positive proofs either of the time of the origin of man or of the necessary growth of civilized from savage men; but, while allowing the principle of development of higher from lower organisms, and ascribing to man existence before the Glacial period, he does not see any proofs that the oldest human skulls are inferior to the recent civilized type, or fix any date for the appearance of man or of his prototype mammals. Man as an intellectual being appears in the remote

past, and sometimes he has been succeeded by savage races, and the result seems to be that his course of development has been less simple than has been thought, and, instead of being a single rising tide, it has been a succession of tides, rising and falling, both the rise and fall being greater as the level to be reached is higher. The third point which distinguishes the author's views in this volume is the summing up of the results of all his studies of the animal life on the globe in connection with the changes in their dwelling-places. He is confident that, although nearly all of what is now dry land was once deep water under the ocean, yet the changes have been gradual, so that in comparison with the highest estimates of the antiquity of man, or even with that of most of the higher animals, our present continents and oceans may be regarded as permanent features of the earth's surface. Thus closes this handsome volume, so full of pleasure and profit.

6.—*The Dutch in the Arctic Seas.* By Samuel Richard Van Campen. Volume I.: *A Dutch Arctic Expedition and Route; being a Survey of the North Polar Question*, etc. London: Trübner & Co. 1877. 8vo, pp. xxxvii.–263.

In this first volume of Mr. Van Campen's monograph, it is the sub-title rather than the title that indicates the chief importance of his work. His aim—to urge upon the Dutch new efforts in that field in which their navigators once were leaders—is, it is true, continually kept before us; but, however desirable its accomplishment may be, this special object is sure to yield in interest, in the reader's mind, to the careful "Survey of the North Polar Question" as a whole, for which it furnishes the motive. As an argument, much of what Mr. Van Campen advances in regard to arctic routes and methods is of course open to candid question; but whatever may be the value of his opinions—which he is exceptionally careful not to let distort his statement of the facts—his service to the general student is beyond dispute. He has given, in convenient but not too narrow compass, an excellent and thorough *résumé* of past experience and current theories in regard to the whole polar problem; and, in placing side by side the most diverse plans for its solution, has succeeded in stating them with remarkable impartiality. To readers who have not the whole literature of the subject within reach, this volume may safely be commended on this account especially; and, indeed, so much does this judicial quality

stand in the way of Mr. Van Campen's success as an advocate, that we can easily imagine how the arguments he cites against himself might easily overthrow his own in the mind of a careful reader, even without previous knowledge of the subject.

We find, indeed, no more notable instance of this trait than his treatment of his leading topic, the selection of a route by which the pole may be best approached. While himself favoring "the Gulf Stream route, which is supposed to offer a comparatively uninterrupted ship-channel by following the course of the Gulf Stream deflected northward from Norway and Novaya Zemlya," and giving as his second choice Dr. Petermann's proposed route from Spitzbergen, he nevertheless succeeds in making so good a case for the Smith Sound route that its own supporters could desire no better advocate. We cannot quite resist the impression that his proposal of the Gulf Stream channel—of which the existence has yet to be proved—proceeds rather from a natural desire to see new pathways tried than from a very strong conviction that this approach is any more promising than that which has so many times been the choice of arctic navigators. "The shrewdest and most practical minds among arctic explorers and experienced geographers are by no means convinced," says Mr. Van Campen, "that the route now taken, by Smith Sound and Robeson Channel, is the only practicable one to the north-pole." But this is begging his own question, and minds could of course be neither shrewd nor practical which could support such a proposition. The advocates of the Smith Sound route do not claim that it is the *only*, but the *best* one; and in citing the names for and against this theory—high as a few of its opponents stand among geographers—Mr. Van Campen seems to us to have done enough, even without his own subsequent admissions, to weaken greatly the effect of his arguments upon the reader. Most of the students of this volume will probably not be led by it to differ from Mr. Clements Markham's summing up of the whole matter: "By the Spitzbergen route there is a bare chance of doing little; by the Smith Sound route there is a certainty of doing much." Perhaps it would not be unjust to add to this, that by Mr. Van Campen's Gulf Stream route there is an uncertainty of everything; and that, while we give full credit to the careful study and presentation he has made of its probabilities, it is the charm of this uncertainty, rather than any well-founded conclusion, that has made him its advocate.

With regard to the question of an open polar sea, Mr. Van

Campen is a little unsatisfactory and vague. For, although he gives a careful statement, of great value to the reader, of the different opinions held by leading geographers upon the point, he ends by leaving his own position ill-defined, and by declaring, rather needlessly, that nothing be here decided but by "actual research." On the whole, we are led to infer that he believes the probabilities are in favor of open water at the pole; and "yet it is fair to say," he tells us, "that the most practical men in arctic research—such as Sir George Back, Sir Leopold McClintock, Mr. Clements Markham, and especially the late Admiral Osborn—are exceedingly skeptical." It is worth while to note, in passing, that all of these men, who are here rightly cited as the "most practical," favor the Smith Sound route.

Let us not be misunderstood, however, because we cannot agree that Mr. Van Campen makes the best of his own case. It is precisely because he is not a special pleader, as we said in the beginning, that his book is of such lasting value. We repeat that it is one of the best of summaries, for the general reader, of the whole literature of the polar problem. In accuracy, both in his historical and scientific treatment of the questions he discusses, Mr. Van Campen is almost unassailable; and although the reader must not look for narrative—as Mr. Van Campen rightly takes for granted a general knowledge of the main facts of recent exploration—he will find many passages of the book so eminently readable as to make him anticipate with interest the publication of the second volume. This, we are promised, will contain the story of the old Dutch voyagers.

In a new edition the name of Captain Koldewey should be thus spelled throughout; in the copy before us the types give it two or more different spellings. Two or three other similar slips are noticeable, but are obviously typographical. We are sorry to see Mr. Van Campen help to perpetuate the error of calling an English navigator *Hendrik* Hudson, because he once accepted employment from a Dutch corporation; but in this mistake, unfortunately, he has many companions.

7.— *Word for Word from Horace:* The Odes literally versified. By William Thomas Thornton, C. B. London: Macmillan & Co. 1878. 12mo, pp. xv.–317.

Mr. Thornton's translation covers less ground than Francis's or Lord Lytton's Horace; but it includes the larger part of what,

in this most enjoyable of Latin writers, will bear, for English readers, a literal translation, namely, the three books of the Odes, the Secular Hymn, and also "as many of the Epodes," says Mr. Thornton in his preface, "as I myself greatly care for." Very nearly literal is his version, far more literal than the versions just mentioned, or than Dryden's, or Lyttleton's, or Martin's; and yet, to our feeling, it is fuller of charm than either of these, or indeed than any other that we know. For Mr. Thornton has brought to his task, besides poetic feeling and love for his author, the gifts which we already know in his prose work, and which are essential for the translator — gifts which, we may add, characterized Donne and Pope respectively—the twofold faculties of directness and of ingenuity in expression. He displays, too, a knowledge and skill in the modern ingenuities of rhyme and metre, traits which give a remarkable freshness to his work. The original metres he has not sought, except in a few instances, to preserve; in these, he tells us, he found himself "confronted by difficulties for the most part absolutely insuperable," of which the chief was his rigorous self-restriction to the synonyms of Horace's small vocabulary; and we believe that, if he had spent much labor upon the reproduction of the Alcaic and Sapphic metres, his translation would have missed being what it now is—eminently readable, in spite of its literalness. Take, for instance, the eighth and ninth Odes of Book III. ("Martiis cœlebs" and "Donec gratus eram"). These translations—and they are scarcely better than his average rendition—are in the best sense artist's work. From the first sentence of his preface, we feel that we have in this writer a master of words; and we do not lose the conviction when, occasionally, we meet some of those gritty phrases, those asperities of diction, which are scarcely evitable by the translator who is bent upon faithfulness. And to the present taste for literal translations, Mr. Thornton has here, without refining at all upon the provinces and functions of the translator, given a really noteworthy response.

8.—*From Egypt to Japan.* By Henry M. Field, D. D. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1877.

Books of travel that take us over familiar ground have to be largely subjective. Personal incident and reflection are the only possible novelties. It is the traveler himself that charms us, and he may go where he will. When Dr. Johnson sets out on a tour, taking Boswell with him, it matters little whether they go to the Heb-

rides, or only down to Ramsgate—it is Dr. Johnson all the same. But, where the ground is not so familiar, we care less for the entertainment and more for the instruction offered. What we look for first of all is information, which has need to be not exact only, but also of real interest and importance. And so the personality of the traveler comes in here likewise. The more he has of insight and of culture, the more broad, catholic, and genial he is, the better. Dr. Field's first volume, "From the Lakes of Killarney to the Golden Horn," gave great pleasure to a multitude of old friends, and gained for him many new ones. But to him, as to them, the sights were old, and only the lights and shadows could be new. This second volume, "From Egypt to Japan," which completes the author's journey round the globe, has the decided advantage of greater objective novelty. There is, of course, the old charm of the Orient, ever old and ever new; the paths are less beaten, and important changes are everywhere going on. Of the twenty-five chapters that make up the book, eight are given to Egypt, twelve to India, and one each to the Red Sea and Indian Ocean, to Burmah, Java, China, and Japan. Our author went up and down the Nile on one of the government line of steamers. The *dahabeeah* allows more time for ingrained impressions; but, with Brugsch's programme carried out, nothing of moment was omitted. That witching midnight in the heart of the Great Pyramid, with Dr. Grant, of Cairo, was not, however, in Brugsch's programme. Dr. Field saw both Egypts; not merely the old one of the fourth, twelfth, eighteenth, and nineteenth dynasties, the much-described Egypt of the pyramids, tombs, and temples, but also the new Egypt of Mehemet Ali and his successors. Of this new Egypt we get a very faithful picture. Ismail Pasha, the present energetic khedive, is both praised and censured with intelligent and just discrimination. His new judicial system, "the one bright spot in the state of Egypt," is explained and applauded, and the credit of it given, where it first and mainly belongs, to Nubar Pasha, the best statesman Egypt has had of late. India very properly gets the lion's share of the volume. The average Englishman makes it a part almost of his religion to know all about India. The average American may learn a great deal from these twelve carefully-studied chapters. With much vivid description of men and things, vital questions of government, of race, of religion, are very broadly, temperately, and discreetly handled. The story of the great mutiny is well rehearsed. English pluck and heroism are duly acknowledged, as are also the signal benefits

of English rule in India, while English right to rule there is shown to be nothing more nor better than the old Roman right of conquest justifying itself by its beneficence. In the admirable chapter on "Christian Missions in India" we are treated to no foregone conclusion. Both sides of the question are fairly presented, and the balance is soberly struck between the two. The notice of Burmah is very brief, but amends are made by referring us to the best book on the subject, a portly volume of 900 pages by Mr. Mason, an American missionary there. The chapter on Java is one of the freshest and best of the twenty-five. We shall never be quite happy, any of us who read this chapter, till we have seen the wonderful island with our own eyes. The panorama fitly concludes with China and Japan. These two peoples, like their Occidental parallels, the English and French, are best understood by being compared and contrasted. And so, by way of the Pacific, our author gets round home again. His opportunities abroad were exceptionally good, and were diligently improved. But the before and the after were not neglected. He went prepared to see and hear, and returned to work up patiently the materials he had gathered. He gives us a book conspicuous for its polished diction, its easy flow of narrative, its judicial fairness and common-sense, and, above all, for its gentle charity. It was well worth the toil and trouble of the long journey that the author is able at last to testify that in all his wanderings he has "met with no rudeness in word or act from Turks or Arabs, Hindoos or Malays, Chinese or Japanese."

9.—*Money.* By Francis A. Walker, Professor of Political Economy in the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale College, and Lecturer in Political Economy in the Johns Hopkins University; author of "The Statistical Atlas of the United States," "The Wages Question," etc. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1878. 8vo, pp. 550.

Every professor of political economy seems to regard it as incumbent upon him to put forth a new book on some branch of that complex science, whether he has anything new to present or not. If he has prepared a series of lectures for the students of a university, wherein he has poured into new bottles the old mixtures of a hundred doctors, he is not content until it has been published in a bulky volume, to encumber an overloaded market. The only justification that any man could plead at this time for giving us a new book on finance is, that he presents clearly, concisely, and in a tell-

ing way, the settled principles of the subject and those arguments which are calculated to carry them to the understanding of the reader. That is precisely what Prof. Walker has not done in the volume before us. He has given us in more than five hundred octavo pages a perfect jungle of undigested materials, amid which his own conclusions are so lost that it is difficult to extract them. He quotes from almost every author who has written on the subject, giving opinions on both sides of every question that has ever been controverted, until the reader is puzzled to know what he proposes to have taken as the sound view. He also repeats a vast deal of historical information about the use of the precious metals and the monetary systems of all time, which has been given so many times that it is wearisome. But, amid all the redundancy, repetition, and irrelevancy, when one gets down to his actual position on certain essential points, he finds it to be erroneous and misleading. He has taken a violent antipathy to the word "currency," and consequently insists on using "money" as a term properly applicable to pretty much everything used in effecting exchanges. As a consequence, he is very confused in his definition of money and of its functions. Having once admitted that full intrinsic value for all it pretends to measure is not essential to money, he leaves the way open for all manner of vague and false notions. On that admission rests the fallacy that prices depend directly on the volume of currency, that a bi-metallic standard is practicable, that inconvertible paper may serve as an accurate denominator of values, and that bank-notes are money by which final payment is made. The pestilent notion that authority can take the place of value vitiates his reasoning from the beginning to the end of the volume. Nevertheless, he furnishes to any one who can properly sift and digest his material the means of getting at tolerably correct conclusions, in spite of the author; but this is a task that ought not to be left to the reader's study. The information is so ample, and the arguments on all sides so numerous, that careful study would enable one to make his way to sound conclusions even where the professor himself has missed them. But on the whole we cannot see that such a book was needed or called for, and we are very much afraid that it will not contribute to the enlightenment of the popular mind, though dealing with a subject on which it is greatly in need of careful and judicious education. This only shows that a man may be a great statistician, a skillful compiler, and a capable superintendent of census-taking, without being competent to deal with scientific principles.

10.—*The Epoch of the Mammoth, and the Apparition of Man upon the Earth.* With Illustrations. By JAMES C. SOUTHALL. Philadelphia : J. P. Lippincott & Co. 1878. 12mo, pp. xv.–451.

THIS vigorous and readable book bears upon the vital question as to the origin of man—whether he was evolved through untold ages from the lowest forms of being, or he was created by the Supreme Mind. The author contends earnestly for his comparatively recent origin, from 6,000 to 10,000 years ago. He aims to give in a compact form whatever the students of geology and archæology have brought to light with regard to man's antiquity. He regards Darwinism as wholly visionary in its affirmation of the descent of man from inferior animals. He finds proof of civilization before savage life, and does not see any evidence that the human skeletons in caves among the bones of wild beasts were of an older race than those of the men who built the pyramids. He sets aside the common idea of a Stone age before bronze and iron, and declares—not without show of proof—that stone weapons and utensils have always been used, and are now, and they may have been at first used mainly by certain stragglers from civilization who had lost the use of the superior metals. He insists much upon the importance of the legends and symbols that illustrate the common origin of man, such as the tradition of the flood and the form of the cross. He finds indications of recent customs of burial and kinds of weapons and pottery among the human remains of the deep bone-caves, and he makes light of the alleged antiquity of the Glacial period, the close of which—in Denmark and Scotland—he fixes somewhere within 2,000 years before Christ. Then the men of the Mammoth and Reindeer epoch in Belgium had gone as far north as the rigor of the Ice age would allow ; and, as soon as the ice sheets and bergs were gone, they moved into Denmark, he believes. The mound-builders of America are represented as having lived not more than 1,400 years ago, and he thinks it as foolish to date the age of a deposit under geological strata from the time required to form those strata as to reckon the age of a frog found at the bottom of a well by tracing the ages of the layers of mineral, earth, or stone, on the sides of the wall from the top to the bottom.

The book has not much to say about the mammoth, and uses this huge beast as the mark of a disputed age ; but the author is well read, and smart enough to give a fresh start to the evolutionists

whom he so opposes, and who may call his work a theological tract rather than a scientific treatise.

11.—*A French Heiress in her Own Château.* By the author of "One Only," "Constantia," etc. London: Sampson Low. 1878. 12mo, pp. 266.

This story is an opportunity missed. Its *motif* is by no means commonplace, at least for English readers; it is English love-making in a modern French château, where a noble family of Anjou receive a long visit from their English cousins. One of these, Frank, the quite unheroic hero of the story, improves the opportunity to fall in love with Marie, the already affianced heiress of the house. He wins her consent to a proposed elopement, and to an "English marriage," but he manages the affair so awkwardly as merely to postpone her prearranged fate, a *mariage de convenance;* which, after all, turns out to be a happy one. This is not, however, a novel with a purpose. It is an effort to draw some features of home-life in France, the life which is accessible to but few foreigners; and of this, the author—clearly a woman, we should say, though not a very delicate observer—has seen something. But she is quite incapable of perceiving the finer traits of the French character: when, for instance, she makes the De Valmonts, on losing their money, give their daughter Cécile in marriage to a cousin John, whose suit they had refused when they were rich, we feel that our author has no real knowledge, or capacity for knowledge, of the sentiments of the *noblesse* to whom she would introduce us; we could, on the contrary, think that the story was written in the land of the dollar, and by one of its most ardent devotees. The story gives some touches of French character and manners. But the inconsistency and the uncertain eye and hand which have delineated them, render the book, as really illustrative of French life, a failure; though as a story it has sufficient interest. A similar remark is to be made of the clever pre-Raphaelite woodcuts which adorn the book. They are ornamental, but they are not illustrations. Being completely English in character, they would have gone well in a novel of English life. But they are ingeniously and consistently unlike anything that is to be seen in the France of to-day.

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

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I.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

The growth of our country in population and power is wonderful. Before the close of this century, if our progress goes on at the ratio of the past, our numbers will exceed eighty millions. It is a just source of pride that we have not become great by arts of diplomacy, or by conquests gained by wars. The captives we have taken are not those of force, but prisoners of peace drawn to our shores by the desire to enjoy with us the liberties of the land, and the plenty which Providence has given us. While the different nations of Europe watch with jealous and hostile eyes the comparative progress and power of each—while peace in the minds of its statesmen means armed neutrality always threatening war—we have drawn from their population by beneficent influences more than the most successful in arms have been able to capture from those into whose territories they have carried death and devastation. We have taken by immigration from Germany greater numbers than that empire wrested from France in the last war between those powers.

But at this time, when so many facts tend to fill our hearts with pride and gratitude, we are perplexed by the general depression of business, and the distress of large classes of our citizens. We now feel the full cost of the late civil war, and the force of

the reaction which springs from wild speculation. Our desire for wealth has outstripped the swift growth of our country, and a greed for gain has tempted us to disregard the laws of prudence, industry, and economy, and to grasp at wealth by schemes which in the end have plunged us into many public and private disasters. We find that habits of extravagance are more easily acquired than cast off. We are not yet ready to admit the truth that we have brought these evils upon ourselves, and that we must go back to the tried pathways by which our country reached its greatness. This state of affairs gives birth to wild and conflicting schemes about finances, social order, and the policies of government. These discordant theories range from the doctrines of the communist who would overturn our social structures, to those of the timid, half-hearted believers in our government who wish to go back to restraints and powers exerted by the monarchs of Europe. Many fear that grave evils will grow out of these conflicts of opinion. But those who have studied with care the principles and workings of our political institutions look upon them as sources of good rather than of evil. They feel that our system is not only more conservative than all others, but that it has less to fear from wild theories or from party passions.

Distress always makes discontent, and men who are in trouble turn with interest and hope to every proposed remedy. It is our duty to treat their views with respect, for, while their theories may be false, their sufferings are real. It is well that we are taught by popular agitation the existence of evils. It is necessary for those who have charge of public affairs to learn what men have in their minds, what views they hold, at what ends they aim. We can gain many truths from those who may hold mistaken opinions. One of the advantages we enjoy under our form of government is, that we can let false notions cure themselves. It is not necessary for the public safety to restrain freedom of speech. It is a striking fact that, while the monarchs of Germany and Russia, with vast armies under their control, are disturbed and endangered by the theories of socialists or other revolutionary associations, we listen to them without fear. We allow the utmost freedom of speech, and we rely upon the good sense of our people to make harmless all appeals to prejudice. Elsewhere the violent passions or insane egotism of a theorist

may lead him to shoot a monarch and to shake a state. Here he can only indulge in violent declamation which may attract a passing notice, and then he sinks into hopeless obscurity. In Europe his teachings are deemed dangerous to social order. Here they serve only to satisfy the public of the folly of his views, and to strengthen the public faith in the value of social order and of time-tested truths. On the whole, such men are useful to us. Their vanity dies out where no one cares for their opinions. Without the aid of persecution they sink into pitiable helplessness. After a time the truth gets through their addled brains that their speeches and writings only help the social system which they seek to overthrow. Most of them become industrious citizens, gain some property, and abhor the idea of sharing it with less fortunate or more idle associates. The follies of fanatics frequently teach wisdom better than the words of the wise.

But the purpose of the writer is not to speak of the different theories which have their origin in the depression of industry. Our country will soon rise above its business troubles. It is enough to say that the conflicting opinions held by the numerous organizations which have recently sprung up will not only teach us many truths and lead us to just ideas about business and finances, but they will also turn our attention to the theory and genius of our government. We will learn that our prosperity and progress are not alone due to our material advantages, but in a great degree are the results of our forms of government. There are other lands with ample territories, with climates as genial, with soils as productive as ours, which show no signs of growth and greatness. The passions stirred up by civil war, and the speculative excitements which followed it, have led us to neglect truths which we should ever bear in mind. Something may be gained by recalling even familiar facts, as they may allay the fears of those who distrust the future by showing that ours is the most conservative government in existence; that under it each man can do much to promote the public interests, and the duty rests upon him to do what he can to uphold the honor and the welfare of our republic.

While we boast of our progress, we find ourselves confronted by great problems in the near-by future. From this time our average increase will probably be more than a million and a half each

year, more than four thousand each day, more than one hundred and seventy each fleeting hour! This is a growth unparalleled in the history of the world, and throws into the shade the results of European struggles in war or of the subtilties of diplomacy in peace. The question is forced upon our minds, Are our systems of State or General governments fitted to meet such vast and rapid changes? What are the leading features of our political policy which has served us so well heretofore, and upon which we place our trust to carry us safely through the years to come? To get clear views upon these points, we must dispel many false ideas with regard to the theory and structure of our political institutions. It is a common opinion that our government differs from others because we hold that power rightfully belongs to the majority, and that it is based upon a belief in the general intelligence of the people. While there is a measure of truth in these assertions, they nevertheless mislead us with regard to the distinctive features of our political system. We confound our methods of getting at the will of the majority with the measure of power given to the majority. All civilized governments claim that they represent the popular will, and to a great extent they do; for at this day no civilized government could stand that deeply and persistently offended the body of the people. These would soon find a way of overturning it, if not by ballots, then by bayonets. No monarch in Europe dare say he holds his throne in defiance of the wishes of his people. They all claim that their powers are based upon the will, the intelligence, and patriotism, of their citizens. While we have, in our methods of voting and representation, clear and effective ways of showing the popular will, these do not give popular power. It is a remarkable fact that ours is the only system which declares that the majority shall not govern in many vital respects; that it has devised a plan by which it can be held in check; and that each individual has defenses against the will of the body of the people and the power of the government which represents them. The distinctive features of American constitutions are not that they aim to give power to majorities, but that they aim to protect the rights of minorities, and this is done by methods which are in strong contrast with anything attempted elsewhere.

There are many things that the majority and Government

cannot do. The writ of *habeas corpus* cannot be suspended unless in cases of rebellion or invasion; no bill of attainder can be passed; no tax laid upon any article exported from any State; no laws can be made respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right to assemble and petition Government for a redress of grievances. The right to keep and bear arms cannot be infringed; the right to be secure in their persons and houses against unreasonable searches and seizures cannot be violated. No person can be held to answer for capital or other infamous crimes, unless upon indictment of a grand-jury, etc. If our Constitution merely made these declarations, it might be said that it only stated in terms what was as clearly set forth in the unwritten maxims of other states; that the Englishman holds in as high regard what he calls the Constitution of Great Britain as we do the documents on which are written out our State or national covenants—for he claims that these unwritten maxims give equal protection to minorities or individuals, and that the spirit of laws is held as sacred as are the letters of constitutions. But our fathers did not stop with declarations. They fortified the rights of States and persons by placing the judiciary for this purpose above the executive and the law-making powers. This is the great distinguishing feature of our government. In this we stand alone among the peoples of the earth. If the Parliament of Great Britain enact laws with the assent of the crown, they must be enforced by the judiciary and the whole power of the kingdom, although they trample upon every maxim held sacred, or upon every right of person or of conscience. There is no remedy but repeal or revolution. In this country our courts declare such laws to be void, and they will not enforce nor permit them to be enforced by the executive nor any other power, although they trench upon the rights of but one citizen standing against the whole people.

Not only are the powers of the majority acting through their representatives checked in these respects, but the majority, in fact, are not allowed to control the most powerful branch of Congress, the Senate, which not only has equal power of legislation with the House of Representatives, but has also the power of approving or of rejecting treaties. About one-fourth of the people

have as many Senators as the remaining three-fourths. This inequality in principle if not in degree was designed by the framers of the Constitution to keep the majority in check, and to protect the rights and interests of the States having small populations. By the constitutional plan of distributing the electoral votes, a President may be elected over a candidate who is supported by a majority of the people. Beyond the electors who represent the population in each State, two electoral votes are given to each of them. The majority of the people live in ten States; they get twenty of these. The minority, living in twenty-eight States, get fifty-six of the senatorial electoral votes. This, if they should act in concert, enables them to elect a President over the majority. The purpose, in making the General Government one which does not strictly represent the people of the United States, was to protect minorities, and to keep it within its constitutional limits. This purpose is shown more clearly in the article about amendments, where it is provided that no changes can be made in the Constitution unless two-thirds of the House and of the Senate shall propose them, and then, in addition, they are ratified by three-fourths of the States. If more than one-quarter of the States object to an amendment, although they are small States with less than a tenth of the population of the country, it falls.

If we look into State constitutions, we find like restraints upon the power of majorities, by articles taking from their representatives the right to pass many laws which they could enact but for such restraints. These prohibitions have been multiplied of late. They are numerous in the constitution of New York. It not only repeats those set forth in that of the General Government, but it adds many others. Among them are prohibitions against the creation of debts, the use of the public money for many purposes, and the right to give to cities or towns the power to make loans to aid corporations. The whole course of constitutional legislation, in all the States, shows that the spirit and genius of our political system tend to check the power of majorities, either acting directly or through their representatives, and to secure to each individual the rights of person, property, and conscience.

The writer states these facts to correct the impression, which prevails in our country and elsewhere, that the individual or mi-

norities are swallowed up by the majority, and made helpless to resist wrong or to uphold the right. Every man can, if he will, be potent for these purposes. The fact that majorities have great control in our country is not one which distinguishes it from all other people, for power always in some way inheres with the majority, by force of ballots or bayonets, by elections or revolutions, by regular or convulsive methods. The distinguishing feature of our government is, that it is the only one which attempts to restrain and check this power, although it may be acting in accord with the popular will. In other words, it is the only government which attempts to protect the rights of minorities and of localities against the power of majorities; and for that purpose it has worked out a political organization unparalleled in any other country or in any other period of the world's history.

It is also constantly stated that our system depends upon the general intelligence of our people. It is true that, without popular intelligence, virtue, and patriotism, we shall sink into anarchy, corruption, and ruin. But this is true of all other civilized nations. They speedily fall into decay without the same virtues. This great truth, as it is usually expressed, does not carry with it a full and a clear idea of the nature of that intelligence upon which our government depends. We demand not only general intelligence, as it is required elsewhere, but in addition special intelligences, without which our political system cannot be conducted. Its peculiarity, which distinguishes it from all others, is, that it must be aided by those special intelligences which make its very life, and which, in numerous instances, can carry on certain functions of government, even where general intelligence may be wanting. What is meant by special intelligence is, for instance, this: A man lacking education, and with a limited knowledge, may be so placed that he knows better than much wiser men where a road should be laid or a schoolhouse built, and he may have a deeper interest than others in having those things well done. Wise men will, therefore, give to him the control of this work. The same theory is true of many other affairs which concern the welfare of society. Our fathers, before our independence, and when they shaped our system of government, were forced by the then state of society to avail themselves of such special intelligences. These not only served to promote the interests of the colonies, but they

enabled the framers of our Constitution to solve problems where the world said they would fail. No man can understand the spirit and genius of our political institutions who does not trace out the uses made by our fathers of these special intelligences, nor can he feel as he should his duties and rights as a citizen, unless he sees clearly that our system imposes upon him certain work which he can perform, and which will be productive of good, despite the power of majorities, or even the lack of general intelligence in the community in which he lives.

It is not the purpose of this article to present any partisan views of the distribution of power between the General and State governments, or to touch any controverted political point. Its design is to show that every citizen, without regard to majorities and without undertaking to change the minds or elevate the general intelligence of the American people, can so use his special power and intelligence as to promote the public welfare; also to prove that under our machinery of government, if there are widespread abuses in local or general administrations, the guilt lies at the door of the individual citizens, because they did not do their personal duty in the particular field marked out for them by our system of laws. What is said about the powers of majorities and the rights of minorities, about general and special intelligences and duties, is for the purpose of scattering certain clouds under which we are apt to hide our duties from our own eyes.

Let us place ourselves where our fathers stood when they worked out our political system, and thus learn what they meant to do. A people thinly scattered over a continent, living under opposite conditions of climate, production, and domestic habits, were to be united for purposes of common defense and welfare. This could only be done by securing, to each section of a vast region, laws which would promote the prosperity of every part. Where was the wisdom to frame the laws to meet the wants so diversified and conflicting? They knew from experience that kings, lords, and commons, could not do it. Their failures led to the Revolution. They claimed no wisdom superior to that of Parliament, for that was the period when a host of orators and statesmen made Parliament glorious in British annals. The colonies were practically as remote from each other as from Britain, when obstacles to intercourse were taken into account. The necessities

of the case forced our fathers to frame their State and General governments upon principles the reverse of those which usually mark the polity of nations. Their theory takes away control from political centres, and distributes it to the various points that are most interested in its wise and honest exercise. It keeps at every man's home the greatest share of the political power that concerns him individually. It yields it to the remoter legislative bodies in diminishing proportions as they recede from the direct influence and action of the people. The local self-government under which our country is expanding itself over a continent, without becoming weak by its extension, is founded on these propositions. That government is most wise which is in the hands of those best informed about the particular questions on which they legislate; most economical and honest, when controlled by those most interested in preserving frugality and virtue; most strong, when it only exercises authority which is beneficial in its action to the governed. These are obvious truths, but how are they to be made available for practical purposes? It is in this that the wisdom of our institutions consists. In their progress, they are developing truths in government which have not only disappointed the hopes of our enemies, but dissipated the fears of our friends.

The good order of society, the protection of our lives and our property, the promotion of religion and learning, the enforcement of statutes, or the upholding of the unwritten laws of just moral restraints, mainly depend upon the wisdom of the inhabitants of townships. Upon such questions, so far as they particularly concern them, the people of the towns are more intelligent and more interested than those outside of their limits can be. The wisest statesmen, living and acting at the city of Washington, cannot understand these affairs, nor can they conduct them, so well as the citizens upon the ground, although they may be unlearned men. What is true of one town is true of the other ten thousand towns in the United States. When we shall have twenty thousand towns, this system of government will in no degree become overloaded or complicated. There will be no more then for each citizen to do than now. Our town officers in the aggregate are more important than Congressmen or Senators. Hence, the importance to our government of religion, morality,

and education, which enlighten and purify the governed and the governors at the same time, and which must ever constitute the best securities for the advancement and happiness of our country. Township powers and duties educate and elevate those who exercise them. The next organizations in order and importance are boards of county officers, who control questions of a local character, but affecting a greater number than the inhabitants of single towns. The people of each county are more intelligent and more interested in what concerns their own affairs than any amount of wisdom or of patriotism outside of it. The aggregate transactions of county officers are more important than those of our State Legislatures. When we have secured good government in towns and counties, most of the objects of government are gained. In the ascending scale of rank, in the descending scale of importance, is the Legislature, which is, or should be, limited to State affairs. Its greatest wisdom is shown by the smallest amount of legislation, and its strongest claims for gratitude grow out of what it does not do. Our General Government is remarkable for being the reverse of every other. Instead of being the source of authority, it only receives the remnant of power after all that concerns town, county, and State jurisdictions, has been distributed. Its jurisdiction, although confined within narrow limits, is of great dignity, for it concerns our national honor and provides for the national defense. We make this head of our system strong when we confine its action to those objects which are of general interest, and prevent its interference with subjects upon which it cannot act with intelligence. If our General Government had the power which is now divided between town, county, and State jurisdiction, its attempts at their exercise would shiver it into atoms. If it were composed of the wisest and purest men the world ever saw, it could not understand all the varied interests of a land as wide as all Europe, and with as great a diversity of climate, soil, and social condition. The welfare of the several communities would be sacrificed to the ignorance or prejudices of those who had no direct concern in the laws they imposed upon others.

The theory of self-government is not founded upon the idea that the people are necessarily virtuous and intelligent, but it attempts to distribute each particular power to those who have

the greatest interest in its wise and faithful exercise. Such distribution is founded on the principle that persons most interested in any matter manage it better than wiser men who are not interested. Men act thus in their private concerns. When we are sick we do not seek the wisest man in the community, but the physician who is best acquainted with our disorder and its remedies. If we wish to build, we seek not the most learned man, but the man most skillful in the kind of structure we desire to erect; and, if we require the services of an agent, the one is best for us who is best acquainted with our wants, and most interested in satisfying them. The Bible intimates this course when it says that a man can judge better in relation to his own affairs than seven watchmen on a high tower. This principle not only secures good government for each locality, but it also brings home to each individual a sense of his rights and responsibilities; it elevates his character as a man; he is taught self-reliance; he learns that the performance of his duty as a citizen is the corrective for the evils of society, and is not led to place a vague, unfounded dependence upon legislative wisdom. It not only makes good government, but it also makes good manhood. Under European governments, but few feel that they can exert any influence upon public morals or affairs; here every one knows that his character and conduct will at least affect the character of the town in which he lives. While the interests of each section are thus secured, and the citizen is educated by duties, the General Government is strengthened and made enduring by lifting it above invidious action, and making it the point about which rally the affections and pride of the American people, as the exponent to the world at large of our common power, dignity, and nationality.

Under this system our country has attained its power, its prosperity, and its magnificent proportions. Look at it upon the map of the world. It is as broad as all Europe. Mark its boundaries! The greatest chain of fresh-water lakes upon the globe bathes its northern limits; the Atlantic and Pacific wash its eastern and western shores, and its southern borders rest upon the great Mediterranean Sea of Mexico. Our policy of government meets every local want of this vast region; it gives energy, enterprise, and freedom, to each community, no matter how remote or

small. And this is done so readily and so peaceably that the process resembles the great and beneficent operations of Nature.

This plan of carrying down classes of duties to those who have a special intelligence with regard to them, and peculiar interest in their wise and honest execution, is a wonderful educational system, without which it would be difficult to carry on our governments. Its workings are more clearly seen in the country than in cities. In many instances in our new and wild settlements, uneducated men have been made school-trustees, holding their meetings in log-houses or in other humble tenements. All have been struck with their efforts to act wisely, stimulated by their anxiety for their children. The writer has watched such men as they gradually gained knowledge of town laws. He has seen them fill different local offices, become members of county boards and of the State Legislature. As Governor of New York, he found them better grounded and versed in all that relates to legislation than many who have had the advantages of wealth and of education in academic or collegiate form, but who have never been placed in positions where they have taken part in the work of local duties. The plain men thus educated are those who, within a few years, have gone to the West, and have founded, organized, and set in operation great States. They have done wisely what would be deemed works of statesmanship in other parts of the world. Many of us remember when Illinois, now the third State in importance in our Union, was but a part of a vast wild territory. The immigrants, trained in town duties, made their homes there. In a little time they built up a State, one of the most prosperous in the Union, adorned with cities, and enlightened by learning and religion, with more railroads than most of the empires of Europe. Yet this great work has been done as quietly as if it were a matter of course, and with the same ease with which they built houses and barns and fences.

While we differ about the rights of the States or of the General Government under the Constitution, we agree that there is a distribution of jurisdictions; that all the forms of local government spoken of do exist. The purpose is to inquire what duties these distributions impose upon each, and how far their honest, patriotic performance will work out reforms in government, and bring back simplicity, economy, and integrity, in the conduct of

public affairs. It is not only believed that this can be done, but that we have already made progress in that direction. Wrongs no longer can be perpetrated with impunity, which aroused no resistance but a little time since. This is true alike of local, State, and national affairs. Put back into power the men who plundered the city of New York; give them all the advantages of the laws, organizations, and alliances, they then had, and they could not hold their ground for a single day. No one would now venture upon the plunder of the national Treasury by Crédit Mobilier or kindred schemes, or would dare to destroy our great channels of commerce in New York by fraudulent contracts.

We do not now ask what should be done by State or General governments. We reverse the inquiry, to learn what each citizen should do where the control of majorities is restrained and the rights of minorities and individuals guarded, where a field of duty is marked out for every man, and where the spirit and genius of our institutions demand that the special intelligence of each citizen shall be used to promote the general welfare? We must look to this groundwork whenever we seek to correct public abuses, or to reform the administration of State or national affairs. When the lofty spire of some temple of religion sways from the true line, we do not discuss the influence which its pinnacles exert in throwing it from its proper position, but we look to the condition of its base and buttresses, and spend our labor there to restore its uprightness, for we know that there we shall find the causes of threatened danger. Bad government is the logical result of bad morals or neglect of duty by the constituency. Men in office do not corrupt the people so often as the people corrupt officials. The men who plundered the city of New York of many millions could not have done so if there had not been a state of public morals, of wild speculative excitements, a greed for gold no matter how gained, which suggested and favored all their schemes. They were made bold by seeing transactions in all the walks of life, in personal and business circles and in all departments of State and national government, which were akin to their own. They had no business skill, sagacity, or experience. They did not make corruption; corruption made them. The same causes existing all over our country produced the like results. Citizens here and elsewhere did not do their home duties;

they did not use their special intelligence to check wrong in their own neighborhood. We were all swept away by the spirit of speculation, extravagance, and indulgence. Bad governments are the results, the punishments, and, we hope, the remedies, for this wide-spread demoralization. They impose the penalties for neglect. God in his goodness does not permit nations to be happy and prosperous when governments are corrupt and citizens are indifferent. Indifference on the part of the public makes corruption in officials. Slight changes in public morals act with intensified force at political capitals, as slight contractions or expansions in the bulb of the thermometer make great changes in the rise and fall of the slender column of mercury which marks the temperature. For a like reason any loss or gain in the morals of a people is potent for good or evil in the conduct of public affairs.

So completely does the state of the public mind shape legislation and official action, that it is more correct to say that laws are passed through Congress or State Legislatures than it is to say they are passed by them. They are conduits rather than enacting agencies. The opinions which suggest, the minds which shape, the wills which demand their passage, are outside of legislative halls. The great business interests of the country, the sentiments of the people, the tone of public morality, give form and hue to political action. Hence all acts of official corruption are justly looked upon by the world as stains upon the American character, every committal of crime an indictment of the American people. Hard times and general distress are the remedies which cure public ills. They teach that neglect of duties and disregard of obligations to society are expensive, and thwart our very schemes for gain or self-indulgence. The influences of such distribution, and of the use of special intelligence in the performance of official work, reach beyond the lines marked out by statute-books. They educate us to do many things which elsewhere are thought to be the work of government. To get clear views of the genius of our political institutions, we must look not only at written constitutions and laws, but also at the unwritten laws of usage which grow out of them.

More is done to promote the public welfare outside of the domain of laws than by force of their enactments. Churches,

colleges, academies, hospitals, and a thousand charities, are organized and upheld by the funds of individuals and by the care of unofficial and largely of unpaid influences. Their positions, forms, religious or educational aspects, are all determined by the special intelligence of the particular communities in which they exist. They make the bases of our social and political system. Beyond all other influences they govern and save society from disorder and corruption. The restraints in our Constitution against any tyranny by majorities, the safeguard thrown around the rights of minorities and individuals, the freedom of conscience and worship, the sacredness of persons, the sanctity of homes, the liberty of speech and action, the distribution of political duties, the policy of using for the public welfare the special intelligence of each citizen, all point in one direction, and bring home to every man his personal duty to serve the public, to promote its virtue, its prosperity, and its glory, in some of the many paths which are open to him. These influences are not limited to the particular field in which he labors. Virtue is catching as well as vice. Good example is as potent as bad example. He who does his duty sheds a light which makes other men see their duties. The ways and means for public reform in morals, politics, or business, are not outside of the ordinary pursuits of life. They are at our firesides, they lie in our pathways, they exist in all of our business and social relationships.

The condition of our country is favorable to reform. All honest teachings tell upon the public mind. Argument is now enforced by suffering. The springs and sources of governmental power are under our control. The virtues of economy or of integrity which we practise ourselves we will require of our representatives. They will feel and respond to our demands. Reforms are not to be gained by railing at political parties, while neglecting our individual duties. This is a device by which we blind ourselves to truth. It is inconsistent with an honest self-respect. Neglect of political duty is but a shade better than violation of official duty. It grows out of a lack of true manhood, a want of sense and virtue, and a feeling that personal and social position do not make men equal to the work of battling with wrong. The strength of Britain in no small degree is

owing to the fact that the Peers of the realm meet in manly ways the rough duties of political struggles.

Political parties are, in public affairs, what John Doe and Richard Roe used to be in legal proceedings, fictitious names to conceal the real actors. We are too apt to satisfy our consciences and blind ourselves to our own neglect by railing at them. As parties embrace the whole population, why not say that the American people have been corrupted, or made extravagant, or indifferent to their obligations as citizens? This is what the future historian will say of this period. Shall we not also make him say that this sad condition was followed by a revival of national virtues, and that the beginning of the second century of our existence as a people was marked by a return of the integrity and patriotism which inspired our fathers one hundred years ago?

The social, political, and business evils which affect our country are not to be cured by political strategy nor by any tricks of statesmanship. No country can be legislated out of distress, crime, or poverty. No laws in civilized countries are potent for good which do not emanate from the sentiments, habits, and virtues of the people. They demand personal, fireside, and local reforms. They cannot be made by others for us. They must be wrought out by each man in the use of his special intelligence and personal power, in office and out of it, in all forms of unselfish work for the general welfare, in convention, upon the platform, in the pulpit, and through the press. The immigrants of varied lineages and creeds who come to our shores excite fears in the minds of some. These spring from narrow prejudices. All phases of civilization give broader views about social, religious, and political questions. Men of loyal faith in our Government feel that this mingling of European races on this continent will give us higher civilization, greater power and prosperity, than have yet been seen in the history of the world.

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

II.

SYSTEMS OF OFFENSE AND DEFENSE IN NAVAL WARFARE.

Any one who undertakes to write under the above heading must invite the indulgence of his readers on a very large scale, so much mystery exists as to what really is the best system to follow in naval warfare, and as to what would be the result should two hostile fleets of equal power meet in fair fight. Since the war ending in the year 1815, it may be said that a mere minimum of experience has been arrived at; in the great American civil war, if we leave out the action of the torpedo, then quite in its infancy, the naval fighting was almost all on one side. During the war between Italy and Austria the Italian fleet, at the battle of Lissa, took so little part in the fighting, from some unaccountable reason, that the gallant Tegetoff had it all his own way. In the so-called Crimean War the Russian fleet remained in port, not daring to face the English and French squadrons; and, barring some futile attacks made by the combined fleets on the Russian forts, nothing was done by the naval forces. In fact, excepting for the sake of doing *something*, and perhaps losing two or three ships for the sake of the butcher's bill, no result could possibly be arrived at during a war where no enemy's ships put in an appearance, unless, indeed, by an overwhelming force of light-draught gun, torpedo, and mortar boats, specially constructed for attacking the forts and strongholds of the enemy. It would be well to mention, by-the-by, that the English and French fleets did attack the forts at Sebastopol, a heavy attack at the same time being made by the joint armies, on which occasion the fleets lost many men with no result whatever. In the Franco-German War no naval engagement took place, the French fleet contenting itself by looking from afar at the German strongholds. We

now come to the late war between Turkey and Russia, and there again we did not arrive at any practical result, as, from motives I cannot understand, the Russian Baltic fleet never attempted to move out of its own waters, and the two or three much-talked-about, strangely-shaped iron-clads, the pets of Admiral Popoff and Mr. Reed, thought it better never to show their noses at sea, though never more than three Turkish iron-clads could be spared from their arduous duties of protecting Sulina and Batoum, carrying troops, provisions, etc., to cruise on the Crimean coast. In this, however, I do not blame the commanders of the Russian iron-clads, as, in my humble opinion, these much-talked-of Popoffskas are utterly unfitted to face an enemy at sea. Seeing, therefore, how little experience has been hitherto acquired on which to base an argument respecting the class of vessel best adapted for naval warfare, I can only offer on this subject my own opinions and observations. England, for example, doubtless requires large cruisers, vessels wherewith to defend her colonies. Should they be iron-clads, heavily plated, or fast wooden vessels, heavily armed, with compartments so well fitted that, if one or two should fill with water through being pierced by a shot, the vessel would not sink?

Admiral Farragut, who was one of the most intelligent naval officers of my acquaintance, with whom I had many conversations on this question, was of opinion that the latter class of vessel is the best. Still I can but think that when one nation has a fleet of iron-clad vessels, other nations could not meet her ships on equal grounds if they had only wooden vessels. Admitting, then, for the sake of argument, that iron-clad vessels are an absolute necessity, we come to the question, "What kind of iron-clad is best adapted for modern warfare?" In such a case I think the first point to be arrived at is speed; the second, handiness in manœuvring; the third, sea-going qualities; and the fourth that the vessel should show as small a mark as possible to the enemy's heavy guns, to his torpedoes, and to his rams. In attacking forts (a thing I think out of date, unless by way of making a diversion in conjunction with land-forces), all these points, excepting perhaps the third, are very important. Now, as regards the first necessary qualification, many competent men say that you cannot get speed with small, short ships. In this, with the greatest

respect, I must venture to differ. I think it is only a question of horse-power and the shape of the vessel *under water*. Some of the small Turkish monitors, I found, kept speed better than the large frigates. Secondly, as to handiness in manœuvring, every sailor knows how much easier a short vessel manœuvres than a long one, and, in these days when ships carry enormous armaments, and guns of the heaviest calibre, a small vessel would, to use a somewhat vulgar expression, hop round the long craft like a "cooper round a cask," firing on her ponderous adversary from positions where her (the larger vessel's) guns would not bear, poking her with her rams, and in fact worrying her life out. For example, suppose that two or three small monitors attack a frigate four times their own size, they would, if not capture her, give her what is called in America "a bad time of it." Thirdly, sea-going qualities. I have had some experience in monitors, such as were supplied to the Turkish Navy by English builders, vessels with high free-boards, carrying four 18-ton guns in fixed batteries, which guns could fire in a line with the keel. Several such vessels I had with me in very heavy weather in the Black Sea for fourteen months, and I found that they made as good weather as, if not better than, the heavier frigates, and that in point of speed they were even superior to them. In regard to the fourth qualification, namely, that vessels should show as small a mark as possible to the enemy. There can be no question as to the smaller vessels having this advantage, not only as regards gunnery, but in relation to torpedo-attacks, with which newly-invented war-weapons it would be much easier to strike a large object than a small one. Of course, in making these remarks it is difficult to employ, in relation to England, with her huge fleets, an argument that will apply to states with smaller navies. To the former, ships of all classes are necessary for the protection of her trade and flag over the boundless seas where it flies, but I will take as an example America, and ask what sort of a navy she requires to protect her honor and fame as a naval power. In the event of war America's first thought would naturally be the safety of her magnificent ports, and if adventurous privateers are (as they certainly would be) fitted out for the destruction of her enemy's commerce, they would not be in the category of men-of-war. What seems to be the requirement of America is small,

swift, heavily-armed iron-clads, to dart out at all hours and seasons and harass an enemy's blockading squadron. To these should be added the new, fearful, and demoralizing weapon, the torpedo, of which more anon, and I can but think that no blockading force could ever hold its own off an American port which contained a small, efficient squadron, consisting of such vessels as I refer to, in its waters. It must be borne in mind that the blockading squadron must be always on the *qui vive*, while those inside could choose their own time and opportunity in making their attacks. There must be many persons who will remember how, when torpedoes were quite in their infancy, and when no ships of any sort existed in Charleston on the Confederate side, the frequent night attacks of the enemy harassed the American blockading fleets cruising off that port, and how much damage was done by the yet undeveloped torpedo.

As regards America, if I might venture to give an opinion, I would say that, if, in each of her fortified seaports, such as New York or Boston, three or four small monitors, and a dozen or two of torpedo-boats, were stationed, the inhabitants might sleep quietly in their beds, more so, indeed, than the crews of the enemy's ships outside the port. When I say monitors I refer to vessels with high free-boards, mounting four guns in fixed batteries (tonnage about 1,200 tons). The reason I say high free-boards is, that such vessels might be able to go to sea at any moment, regardless of the weather, thus depriving the enemy of that repose which bad weather so often brings in naval operations. The vessels I suggest should be similar to those built for the Turkish Government by the Thames Iron-Works and Messrs. Samuda on the Thames, at the cost of about £125,000, including guns; thus five of them could be obtained for the price of one such huge sea-monster as the Inflexible.

I would now, for a moment, refer to Admiral Farragut's opinion as to fast, heavily-armed wooden vessels ultimately replacing iron-clads. The gallant admiral, whose loss as a sailor the whole world must deplore, gave his opinion on this point some years ago. Since that time iron-clad frigates, such as he condemned, have been superseded by such gigantic ships as those of the Inflexible class, whose speed is as great as has yet been arrived at by anything afloat, be it wooden or be it iron. Now,

it must be clear that, although at long shots a wooden vessel would be as destructive to her enemies as an iron craft, and that her sailing qualities would probably be superior, she must come to close quarters with her iron-clad enemy before she would be able to capture her, and that, in that case, not only would the armor-cased vessel have the best of it, but, with her ramming power and her immense weight, she would be by far the superior vessel at close quarters. Thus I fear that we cannot quite give up iron yet, though I admit that it is just possible we may be obliged to make some radical change in iron-clad sea-going ships. Already the English Government, and the English naval men, are fully aware that some, nay, nearly all, of their broadside iron-clads are practically useless—in the first place, because many of them, having been built years ago, are too lightly armored and armed to compete with the huge ships now building and built, and that thus they are, though iron-clads, of very little use, and the British public are pinning their faith on vessels of the Inflexible and Thunderer class, that are, indeed, vessels to make an enemy tremble to look on. They have the great advantage of having their decks protected from shot. They have not the huge masts and rigging, one morsel of which getting foul of the screw the vessel is at the mercy of her enemy, be that enemy ever so small a vessel. They are armed with guns that it would have seemed almost a fable to talk about a very few years ago. They have enormous speed, and they carry coal for about twenty days' full speed. Still, the cost is fearful. The English Government, as well as other governments, are beginning to open their eyes to the fact that small, heavily-armed iron-clads will be *the* ships of the future. Such vessels have all the attributes I mentioned as necessary—namely, speed, heavy guns, sea-going qualities, and powers of manœuvring quickly. Last, but not least, they are economical. I can but think that if my friend Admiral Farragut were alive he would agree in this proposed change in naval architecture: not that I would ignore the necessity of a certain number of fast wooden cruisers, heavily armed, especially for convoys of merchant-vessels, and for the purpose of harassing an enemy's trade; but, if the world will persist in having iron armor, and every one decides to wear it, all must be in the same boat, or he who goes uncased will get his ribs broken.

Having given my humble opinion on the class of iron-clads the best adapted to naval warfare, I will now venture an opinion as to how future war will be carried on in regard to naval combats, and the destruction of an enemy's commerce, this latter striking a blow at his most vital part, namely, his pockets. Let us suppose, in regard to the first of these propositions, that two fleets meet on the open seas bent on mortal combat, their commanders-in-chief crammed (as they are naturally enough at present) full of theory as to how they would fight a hostile fleet should it ever fall to their lot to do so. They talk and think of double line, single line, double column or single column, etc. Well, Monsieur le Commandant en chef, there is your enemy drawn up in line of battle before you—rams, torpedoes, and all other deadly inventions, prepared; the commander-in-chief will probably hold a council of war, and according to an arranged plan in goes the fleet at the enemy. If the enemy remains quiet, as in a sham fight, good; but he (the enemy) also is prepared with his system of attack, and before the action has lasted five minutes all plans *must be disconcerted*, the commander-in-chief's signals unseen or disregarded, and everything pell-mell; ships frequently ramming their friends, torpedoes going off in the wrong direction or at a wrong time, and who knows what will happen? I have often thought for hours (while commanding the Turkish fleet) as to what I should do were I to meet an enemy's fleet, and I have come to the conclusion that much must depend on the chapter of accidents. In these days there is too much theory—still I don't see what else we can have—too much calculation, perhaps too much science, in naval men's brains. For my part, I am convinced that the first thing to do is to be most careful in your choice of captains, to have confidence in them, and to leave much to their discretion during a naval engagement. I do not say that I disapprove of a well-digested plan being laid down to start with, but I doubt its being carried out with success, as in the old days of sailing-vessels, when weather-gauges were profited by, and when seamanship was half the battle. I can but think that every captain of an iron-clad will have to fight his own ship, irrespective of the commander-in-chief. Above all, the commander-in-chief of a fleet should avoid placing his ships in too close order. A good thing was said by an English officer of

rank some days before the fatal accident so well known to all the world which occurred lately to the German fleet off Dover. The Germans have the dangerous habit of sailing their fleets in close order. The officer I refer to, being asked what course he would pursue if obliged to attack the German fleet, answered, "I should let them alone, being sure that they would sink each other by collisions in a very short space of time through manœuvring in close order." Thus my opinion is that "open order, individual responsibility, and freedom of action to each commander," should be the order to be given by the commander-in-chief. There are many naval officers who trust entirely to destroy the enemy by ramming. I can only say to them, "Your idea is good in theory, but remember that two can play at that game." By all means use your ram when an enemy is crippled; in fact, I think that all fleets should be attended upon by ram-vessels, who should lie by until one of the enemy's ships is in difficulty, and then rush at the injured ship with their ram. Guns in such vessels are almost superfluous. To sum up this question, I think that a commander-in-chief's motto should be, "Keep your ships in hand as long as possible, then leave the rest to good captains, brave crews, well-worked guns, and Providence."

Now as regards injuring an enemy's commerce, ability to do which is of the greatest importance in war. Fast ships with long-range guns are necessary to carry out this undertaking; valuable cargoes traversing the ocean will generally be escorted by vessels-of-war, and the line of action of these fast ships should be to make an occasional dash in among the convoy, to attack and pick up lagging ships, etc.; and, when chased by the vessels-of-war forming the escort, they must, through their superior speed, be able to escape. I take it that for the purposes of carrying valuable cargoes in war-time fast steamers will be used; this seems to me the only plan, and will make their capture exceedingly difficult, as a vessel so employed will rush from port to port at full speed, while the cruiser must necessarily be economizing fuel, and lying watching for his prey under easy steam. An evidence on this head was given by the way in which the English blockade-runners passed through the American blockading squadrons during the civil war in America. Smokeless coal is

also very requisite, otherwise a cruising-vessel can be seen frequently at from twenty to thirty miles' distance.

One word as to blockade. According to international law, blockade to be recognized should be efficient; whoever made this law showed themselves, perhaps, clever lawyers, but ignorant of their subject. Any one who, like myself, has had experience in the practice of blockades, knows how utterly impossible it is with the finest fleet and the cleverest organization to make a blockade efficient in the true sense of the word, and the sooner some clear understanding is arrived at as to what is meant by "efficient blockade" the better. A curious controversy arose between Russia and Turkey on the question of prizes during the late war. The commander of the Turkish fleet was unable to spare ships for the purpose of maintaining anything like a strict blockade of the Russian ports, as his vessels were engaged in the defense of Sulina and Batoum, carrying troops, munitions of war, etc.; so it seemed to him that, considering all the trade of the Black Sea must pass through the straits of the Bosporus *en route* to Europe, the prevention of vessels passing through those straits would virtually blockade the Russian ports. In this view one or two European governments agreed, but others, taking into consideration the very loose meaning or general acceptance of the word "efficient," demurred, and refused to admit that vessels coming from Russian ports captured at the entrance of the Bosporus were good prizes. Of course, this is a peculiar case. Still it should be remembered that, in the American war, vessels which had evaded the blockade of the Southern ports were chased or picked up anywhere on the high-seas until they arrived to within three miles (the limit of national water) of the islands in the West Indies. There must be some change made in the law of blockade, especially as to the expression, "Blockades, to be acknowledged such, must be efficient," or the greatest possible complications will arise hereafter. I had an idea, while cruising off the Russian ports during the late war, of blockading by means of torpedoes, that is to say, by laying torpedoes outside those laid down by the enemy; but, unfortunately, I had not the means to do so supplied to me. I wonder if such a plan would have been considered an "efficient blockade?" I feel pretty confident that had torpedoes been as far advanced as they are at the

present moment, the Americans would have placed the contact torpedo off the ports of Charleston and Wilmington, and thus at once put a stop to all the successful blockade-running that took place during the late civil war between the Northern and Southern States of America.

I will now say a few words on the great question of the day, one that is puzzling all thinking men's minds. I refer to the torpedo question. Are these fearful and already demoralizing weapons of modern warfare to play the destructive part expected of them, or are they to be met by means of defense that will to a great extent paralyze their action? My experience tells me that they are not to be despised, as I have seen the oldest and bravest sailors tremble at the very thought of them. I will give your readers some of my experience in them, which if not large is perhaps more than that of most persons. As I said in the beginning of this article, the Russians did not count it wise to send their magnificent fleet into the Mediterranean to try issues with the Turkish naval squadrons. In the Black Sea they certainly were not in sufficient force to venture out of their ports, so there they decided to take the offensive with torpedoes, and during the whole of the war they were constantly making attacks with every description of torpedo on the Turkish fleets. In the Danube they succeeded in destroying (through, it must be admitted, a bad lookout having been kept) one small gunboat with the spar torpedo, and at the Sulina mouth a similar vessel was destroyed by the overconfidence of her captain, who followed a Russian flotilla over water where the enemy had been manœuvring for several days, and had laid down many contact torpedoes; this vessel was naturally blown up by the trap laid for her. But even in the Danube failure after failure occurred during the Russian torpedo-attacks; and in the Black Sea, though many desperate and carefully-organized attacks were made, not one Turkish vessel was injured in any way whatever by them. The first attack was made off the Sulina mouth of the Danube, where four Turkish ships were lying at anchor; the precautions that were taken against torpedo-attacks being a cordon of boats round the ships, and a steam-tug lying about half a mile ahead of the squadron. The boats were armed with small guns, riflemen, etc.,

on board the ships mitrailleuses and field-pieces were mounted on the gunnels, and, as the attack was to a certain extent expected, a good lookout was kept. It seems that a Russian steamer, taking five torpedoes in tow, left Odessa shortly after dark. On arriving to within some ten miles from the Turkish squadron, the boats steamed away from their escort, and as the lighthouse at the Sulina mouth was lighted on account of the neutrality of the Danube navigation commission who owned it, they had no difficulty in approaching the Ottoman ships. On they came, gallantly enough, till within a mile or so distant they were seen or heard by the lookout steamers, who at once gave the alarm, and then the row began. One steam torpedo-boat, however, managed to run the gantlet of the guard-boats, and came through them bravely at the headmost Turkish ship. No one knows exactly what happened, except that the torpedo on the spar at the boat's bows went off harmlessly, the torpedo-boat capsized and went down, and the officer who commanded her and all his crew were picked up floating about in the water. What became of the other torpedo-boats was never known. Some say that another may have been sunk in the *mêlée;* the Russian account says, however, that the other four vessels regained their steamer escort, and were towed back to Odessa. Several other attacks by steam-launches armed with the spar-torpedo were made on the Turkish squadrons which were cruising and otherwise employed in the Black Sea, sometimes when the men-of-war were at anchor, sometimes while they were cruising—all with the same result, namely, failure.

The most remarkable of these attacks was made by four torpedo-boats on a single iron-clad man-of-war lying at anchor off Souhounkali, on the coast of Circassia. The steamer with which were the torpedo-boats kept a long way off in the offing, and approached after nightfall. It so happened, curiously enough, that a total eclipse of the moon took place about midnight. The shrewd Muscovites, profiting by the temporary darkness caused by the phenomenon, dispatched their torpedo-launches against their intended victim the moment the moon was obscured and utter darkness prevailed. But the Turkish commander was quite equal to the occasion: his boats were as usual rowing guard round his ship, and his swinging booms rigged out to represent torpedo-

spars. Unhappily, the Turks had no torpedoes. On the approach of the torpedo-boats a tremendous fire was opened upon them from the boats and from the vessels at anchor. Again, as at Sulina, the greatest confusion prevailed; the commanders lost their presence of mind, or found the fire too hot for them, I know not which. All I can vouch for is that, although one torpedo-boat did fire off her weapon, the result of which was a volume of smoke and water, the latter actually wetting the deck of the Turkish ship, no harm was done, and before the end of the eclipse had cleared the moon the attack was over, and the steam-launches cried, "Sauve qui peut!" Not a scratch was made on the iron-clad; and yet, a few days afterward, we saw in the Russian newspapers the following notice: "Gallant exploit of our naval officers; a Turkish iron-clad destroyed;" and, in the next day's *Gazette*, a long list of officers made bishops, or some similar high grade awarded. This reminds me of a grand flourish of trumpets that was made in Russia, headed, "Turkish iron-clad driven off and nearly captured by a Russian merchant-steamer," a long description being given of the gallant action: how men, dressed as English officers, were picked off by the unerring rifles of the sailors of the Russian merchant-vessel, of the rivers of blood on the decks of the said merchant-vessel, etc. Here, again, more bishopries were given, and stars glittered *en masse* on the gallant conquerors' breasts. What happened *truly* on this occasion was this: A Turkish monitor was making a passage from Constantinople to Sulina, her deck loaded with heavy guns to be mounted at that place. She saw at a distance one of the Russian armed merchant-steamers, that had the habit of making a dash out of Sebastopol or Odessa and destroying any Turkish merchant-vessel that came in her way. The Turkish ship, loaded as she was, chased for half an hour, and fired a shot or two at the vessel, which pluckily enough returned the fire from a long light gun mounted on her upper deck. One shot from this gun did hit the funnel of the Turkish ship; after this the merchant-craft, having the legs, was soon away out of sight. "Voilà tout!" However, we must not begrudge the honors given "faute de mieux" to our gallant enemies—and gallant indeed they are when they have real opportunities. That no one can deny.

I now return to my experience in torpedo warfare, which, I

take it, is more interesting to your readers than my little anecdotes of Russian brag. Finding that, as used by them, the pole-torpedo could not, where a good lookout was kept, avail, the Russian Government decided upon using the more deadly fish or Whitehead torpedo. This weapon is projected at a distance of about a thousand yards, and when tried against imaginary enemies was found to have apparently a most deadly effect; but it will be seen how widely different firing at an object which does not return the fire or in any way shake the much-required coolness of action or, as it is called, presence of mind, is from firing at a wide-awake enemy who is taking every precaution and means to resist and ward off an attack. I was cruising with several vessels, watching the Black Sea, when I received information that a well-organized attack was preparing against the fleet anchored at Batoum. I immediately went to that place to look after the safety of the Turkish ships. Two or three nights after my arriving there the attack was made, which I will endeavor to describe. The Turkish guard-boats were rowing guard about four hundred yards ahead of the men-of-war, which, I must state, were anchored with their bows to seaward, their sterns being hauled in to the shore. Unhappily, we were not provided with electric lights, nor had we any steam-launches, the latter having been all sent for service into the Danube. At about midnight, the night being very dark and hazy, an alarm was given by the guard-boats that something was moving about in the dark. Scarcely had the alarm been given, when a thing like a rocket on the top of the water was seen rushing from the darkness in the direction of the ships at anchor, then another, then another. The boats were immediately recalled, and a heavy fire opened from the ships into the dark in the direction from which these mysterious machines were seen to be coming. Now let us see what these things were, and what was their action. They were Whitehead or fish torpedoes, hurled at our ships from a vessel, vessels, or boats, outside the harbor. The first struck one of the iron-clads just abaft the fore-chains, knocked its foremost part in like a man's hat when he is what is called bonneted, *did not explode*, but cannoned off as it were to the shore, where it was found and identified, as before mentioned, as a fish-torpedo. The second rushed past close to the broadside of the flag-ship, struck her stern-chain, which it pol-

ished like burnished steel, and went on shore, where it also was captured, in a very perfect state. The third disappeared somewhere under water, and has not since been seen. I am told that five were fired, but of this I have no proof. Now, why was this attack, so well arranged, so successful to a certain point, so well provided with the newest inventions, why, I ask, was it a failure?

On this head there is a diversity of opinion. Some say that the Russians had neglected to take out the safety-pins, thus leaving the torpedoes as it were on half-cock. At all events, some great error was made in the execution of this grand plan whereby the Turkish squadron, consisting of eleven vessels, lying in Batoum, were to have been blown up in the twinkling of an eye. Now, I will give my humble opinion as to why it failed. In the first place, to find Batoum is no easy matter—not a light to be seen, not a mark to be made out in the night; high mountains close at the back of the strange little harbor, rendering the low land which forms it almost impossible to discern; distances very deceiving; no soundings except in very deep water, the description of the bottom (that great help to the pilot who attends to his soundings)—all these difficulties to be overcome. Then the steam-launches must be sent away some distance from the port, and they, too, have to creep about a long time before they can find out their proper position for attack. The officers and crew, tired with hunting about to discover their whereabouts, at last find themselves in view of a forest of masts. The dark hulls, lying so close to the shore, are hidden by the shade of the land. The enemy they are going to attack is evidently on the lookout, as a guard-boat or two are seen flitting about in the darkness between them and their prey. So at last they fire, and take their chances of success. This seems to me to a certain extent the solution of the problem of failure. But, then, again, why did not the torpedoes explode on striking their object? This is to me a mystery. Scientific men, who examined the torpedoes on their arrival at Constantinople, declare that they were not in a state of preparation to go off—that is, they were half-cocked; but this can be to a great extent only conjecture, as the torpedoes had been pulled about by many curious people before they were officially examined by scientific eyes. Here, again, we have a de-

cided failure of torpedo-attacks, whether from ignorance of the right method of manipulating this newly-invented and dangerous weapon, or for what reason, I leave my readers to conjecture. I have given them the facts as they occurred, and so leave the question, in doing which I will make the following remarks as to my opinion of the efficacy of this new method of warfare.

I am, like many others, much puzzled to say what will be the effect of the torpedo in the next naval war. I think that, with a very good lookout, with electric lights so arranged that the whole (not a portion—that is *most* dangerous) of the horizon is made clear as day (and it is probable that, with some alterations in the present system of light, this may be arrived at), a torpedo-attack, or rather a successful one against ships lying at anchor, may be prevented. Nets round the ships will doubtless be most efficacious also. I again speak of vessels at anchor. But your reader will ask, "How about vessels under way?" On this point I venture to think that a blockading squadron may be dreadfully harassed by large numbers of torpedo-vessels, choosing their own time and weather, making dashes out of the blockaded port.

Then, again, how about torpedoes in a naval engagement? In the present day many ships are so fitted that they can, or pretend they can, fire torpedoes out of their ports as from guns. I hardly suppose that this system has been brought to perfection; but, even should it be, there will always be the danger of hitting a friend instead of an enemy, as in a future naval combat, if fleets are engaged, ships will be passing and repassing, and much confusion will be the result.

I shall be told that this is applicable to shot and shell as well as torpedoes, but the latter are much the most dangerous weapon to play with. It has been said that torpedo-boats with spar-torpedoes could be lowered during an engagement, and sent against an enemy. This seems to me a feasible plan; but I cannot help thinking that the spar-torpedo projecting from the side of the ship, as in the American men-of-war, would be still better.

There is yet another class of torpedo to be employed as a weapon of defense that I imagine will be used with much efficacy in coming wars. I refer to the torpedo that is fixed on the ground, or anchored to float sufficiently near to the surface to

explode when a vessel strikes it. These torpedoes are much used in Europe. It is necessary, however, that they should be under the protection of the guns of forts or floating batteries, otherwise they could easily be picked up by creeping for them. The ground-torpedo is fired by a wire connected with a battery from the shore; this also requires to be powerfully protected, otherwise the connecting wire can be discovered, lifted off the ground, and cut. Even when under the protection of batteries they could be sometimes destroyed in the way above mentioned. There are many other ways in which the efficacy of torpedoes has been tried, but some real practice in war is necessary before any decided idea can be formed of the powers of this newly-invented weapon of destruction.

I have not mentioned the Harvey or the chase torpedoes, because I have no great faith in their value; but, as there may be different opinions about their efficiency, it will be as well to say a few words on the subject. As to the former, I am quite prepared to admit the ingenuity of this invention, and doubtless much pains has been taken by its originator to make the most of his idea. Now, the Harvey torpedo is a weapon which requires that the vessel which is to be its victim be placed in a certain position before she can be attacked. To a vessel unable, from injury or otherwise, to move, I can perfectly conceive that the Harvey torpedo might prove fatal; but even then her guns could play on the attacking vessel armed with the Harvey torpedo, and they could hardly be expected to remain idle. This description of torpedo is well known; I will therefore dismiss it, while giving the opinion that, except in very peculiar cases, it is useless. The other torpedo is a weapon proposed to be used during a chase, and is supposed to be dropped overboard by the vessel chased, and so arranged that, by being placed under two buoys which are extended by a bar about ten feet apart, it should entangle itself round the bows of a chasing vessel, and so blow her up. There is such a minimum of chance in the success of this apparatus that I think it may be deemed useless. I believe that an idea exists of firing torpedoes from the broadside-ports of ships. This is done by means of shoots being placed on the side of the ship, through which the torpedo is thrown from a framework especially prepared, and so into the water. From what I can understand,

however, this system so far has been found of doubtful success, as, during the time of the transit through the air from the ship into the water, the torpedo is affected in some way, which seems to spoil its direction after immersion.

I will now endeavor to give some idea of what I think is the best method for defense against torpedoes. The Turkish Navy, from want of proper appliances, had to use the most simple and ordinary methods of defense. For vessels lying at anchor I think the best plan is, if acting against boats armed with pole or spar torpedoes, a cordon of boats at anchor, with everything ready for slipping or cutting the cable, a light, buoyant rope connecting each boat with its next in line. Supposing that one or even half a dozen spar-torpedo-boats make a dash against a squadron of ships, they could never succeed if this cordon were properly placed, and a good lookout kept by means of steam-vessels stationed ahead and astern of the men-of-war. Even should a torpedo-boat, profiting by the darkness of the night, make a dash through this cordon, she must foul the ropes, and draw the boats on either side upon her. Thus I dismiss the supposed danger of torpedo-boats in an attack on a squadron.

Now we come to a much more serious question: the attack on ships by the deadly Whitehead torpedo. Ships to defend themselves while at anchor from this attack should be guarded by good electric lights, that will show the boats advancing to the attack. They should also have wire nets round them, and fast steam-launches should be hovering about, ready to attack on their part the advancing enemy. Much may be done in evading an attack in this way by Thornecraft's steam-launches, armed with Whitehead torpedoes. Still the greatest care and the most minute precautions must be taken.

I have already mentioned the great danger to blockading squadrons that would accrue from sudden attacks made by boats dashing out of the blockade harbors. In this case, when ships are under way, nets cannot be used as a protection, so that nothing is left but *éclairage* of the horizon and a good lookout.

I think that I have now exhausted my subject as regards the best class of ships adapted for naval warfare; I have only omitted one class, which, though last, is not by any means the least. I refer to the transport service. For this service no nation is so

well supplied as England, and even in English ships I believe a very essential element is wanting. It is true that the British ships have splendid speed, plenty of room for coal, carry many troops, possess well-ventilated decks; but they are not armed, in my opinion, as they should be. I should suggest that every transport have four or six Krupp guns of great range. With such guns they could play at long balls as well as any iron-clad, and, if chased, could annoy the enemy by raking his decks, perhaps knocking away a spar, the cordage of which might foul his screw, etc. I say Krupp guns, because they seem to me to be lighter, and have a longer range in proportion to their weight, than any guns that have come under my notice. However, we will say long, light guns with a long range. As a proof of what such guns can do, I will mention that, in the late war between Russia and Turkey, Krupp guns with a long range were stuck all over several flimsy Russian merchant-steamers, which frequently ventured out into the Black Sea to destroy Turkish ships of commerce, and when chased by heavy iron-clads they found it easy to escape.

In giving these opinions, I trust I have not presumed. I have merely stated my ideas, formed to a great extent from experience acquired in actual service.

HOBART PASHA.

III.

THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

If the Congress of Berlin has failed to restore peace to the East, it has at all events condemned England to an active participation in European politics from which she had so long abstained. For many years past the Liberal party had resolutely adhered to the principle of non-intervention, and the result had been gradually to lower the prestige of the country, and to expose its Government to the charge of insular selfishness, and indifference to the fate of old allies and treaty engagements. It was natural that this lukewarmness should convert friends into enemies, who revenged themselves by predicting the speedy decay of the empire, and by making combinations abroad which ignored England altogether as a factor in European politics. The advent of the Conservatives to power, under a chief whose restless ambition and love of dramatic effect were not to be satisfied by the passive *rôle* to which his predecessors had doomed the nation, inaugurated a new era of foreign politics for which the popular mind had become prepared; the contempt for England, which was freely expressed by foreign governments and the press of Europe, had produced a general irritation, of which Lord Beaconsfield (then Mr. Disraeli) was not slow to take advantage, and the tendency shown by Russia to reopen the Eastern question supplied him with the excuse he so eagerly desired of embarking upon a vigorous foreign policy. He threw down the gantlet to Russia by the purchase of the Suez Canal shares, the proclamation of the queen as Empress of India, and the rejection of the Berlin Memorandum after it had received the assent of the principal powers of the Continent, and astonished Europe by the indications which these acts afforded of his intention to force his

Government once more into an active participation in its affairs. At the moment when his policy would have culminated and prevented the Russo-Turkish War by a positive declaration to Russia that any attempt on her part to interfere with the treaty of 1856 would involve a declaration of hostilities by England, it was paralyzed by the Bulgarian atrocities and subsequent agitation, led by Mr. Gladstone and some of the leading Liberal organs, in favor of Russian interference, on religious grounds, on behalf of the Christian subjects of the Porte. The country, dazzled by the eloquence of its former prime-minister, horrified by the sensational accounts which arrived from Turkey, and unable to foresee the consequences to which such active manifestations of sympathy must of necessity give rise, it was evident, would refuse to support the ministerial policy of defiance to Russia at the critical moment; and a period of vacillation and uncertainty followed, of which Russia availed herself to declare war with Turkey and carry it to a successful issue. When, in the opinion of Lord Beaconsfield, the interests of England became so seriously menaced that any further hesitation must have been attended with the most disastrous results, he decided upon a course which forced the resignation of two of the most prominent members of his cabinet, and by a master-stroke placed England once more in the front rank of European nations. The dispatch of troops from India to the Mediterranean, while involving the most serious consequences as we shall presently see, and the circular of Lord Salisbury, compelled more than one great power reluctantly to consent to a congress in which England was destined to play a leading part. It is maintained, however, that this would not have been possible, had not a secret convention been entered into with Russia, known as the Anglo-Russian convention, which is bitterly condemned by those who believe (and as subsequent events have shown with reason) that a threat of war would have been as effectual a means of forcing on the Congress as an agreement which tied the hands of England when it met. The diplomatic advantages gained by Lord Salisbury were neutralized by the secret agreement with Russia to which he unwisely put his initials; another secret treaty with Turkey did not mend matters, and Lord Beaconsfield and his colleague went to Berlin, after having hampered themselves secretly with conditions which rendered a final

and satisfactory solution of the Eastern question impossible. The basis, moreover, upon which the negotiations at Berlin were conducted, being as immoral as it was impracticable, it was plain from the first, to any one acquainted with the local conditions, that any result arrived at from it must lead to endless trouble, confusion, and difficulty. By the ninth clause of the treaty of 1856, it was distinctly laid down that the reforms then enjoined upon Turkey were to be conducted by the Government of the sultan without any interference on the part of foreign nations; and the principle was thus established that no power had the right to protect the subjects of another power, on the ground of a similarity of view in certain theological tenets. In defiance of this clause, the very powers who agreed to it in 1856 met at Berlin, 1878, to frame another treaty, adopting as its basis this right in regard to the very power for whose sake it had been repudiated. Because it was clear to the cosignatories of the treaty of 1856 that the only hope of tranquillity for Turkey was non-interference in its internal affairs—one of the parties to this treaty having proved the accuracy of this view by a violation of the treaty, and an interference on the ground of religion, which produced the very evil anticipated—therefore the other powers, by a curious inversion of logic, meet formally to ratify the principle which had reopened the Eastern question, experience having shown that this question never would have been reopened had the opposite principle enunciated by the former treaty been adhered to. In other words, the plenipotentiaries at Berlin have introduced into the code of nations the right of any one or more nations to protect their co-religionists wherever they may be found by means of their own consuls and commissions, and, in the event of their diplomatic agents reporting unsatisfactorily, forcibly to partition any such country among themselves. No remonstrances on the part of the local populations against being thus summarily transferred, without being consulted, to the tender mercies of a strange government, are to be attended to; armed resistance in defense of their homes and hearths is to be termed insurrection, and the net result "peace with honor!" The effect of flinging the Treaty of Berlin at the heads of the heterogeneous races and religions of the East has been precisely that of throwing a firebrand into a powder-magazine. The only possible chance of

quiet would have been the application of the principles of the treaty of 1856 intensified, and provision made against those infractions of it by Russia which culminated in the late war. The effect of the present treaty is not merely to justify for the future any such infraction on the part of Russia, but to compel other powers by treaty forcibly to intervene on religious grounds. Thus Austria is at this moment, under the treaty, militarily occupying two provinces of Turkey in order to reform them, and is reducing the numbers hereafter to be reformed by a preliminary process of extermination. England has undertaken to reform the whole of Asiatic Turkey, and has appropriated Cyprus. Europe generally has taken charge of Eastern Roumelia by means of a commission which the great powers have appointed, in the wild delusion that they will be able to introduce reforms by peaceable methods; and Greece is clamoring for some neighboring Turkish provinces, on the simple ground, as enunciated by a late official circular, that they are necessary in order to increase the happiness of Greeks generally, and her right to obtain territory on this principle has been formally established by a clause in the Treaty of Berlin, and will doubtless sooner or later be gratified at the cost of much bloodshed.

It is certainly a remarkable phenomenon that the nineteenth century should have witnessed the civilized powers of Europe framing a treaty upon precisely the same principles as those which justified the crusades of the middle ages, directed against the same religion, and involving an equal amount of bloodshed and misery in almost the same region. Mohammedans have never suffered any more horrible atrocities than those perpetrated since the treaty by Bulgarian and Russian Christians, if we are to believe the reports signed by the consuls of various European powers, while the whole territory which that treaty was framed to protect and reform has since become an arena upon which acts of the most savage warfare are being perpetrated in the name of humanity and religion. In the Rhodope Mountains some fifty thousand armed men are holding a Christian army at bay, and furiously defending their lares and penates. The whole of Bosnia has by virtue of this treaty and this treaty alone been converted into a bloody Christian-Mussulman battle-field. No sooner were its provisions known in Albania, than a league

was formed numbering, it is said, from fifty to a hundred thousand men, determined to fight to the last. Under the treaty, the Greeks, aided probably by the Italians, will ere long declare war against Turkey; under the treaty thousands of Tazas have found themselves compelled to abandon their native mountains, and as friendless and starving refugees, men and women and children, are flocking to some region where they may be safe from the oppression they dread. The inhabitants of the Dobrudja have announced their intention of resisting to the last its annexation by Roumania; while the Russian army refuses to evacuate the fertile plains of Eastern Roumelia until the provisions of the treaty in regard to that province, which they well know to be impracticable, are put into operation.

It is indeed now becoming tolerably apparent that the secret of the readiness which Russia displayed to make concessions at Berlin arose from the fact that in practice she did not mean to carry them out. She trusted to the chapter of accidents for excuses which should justify her in refusing to do so, and to the unwillingness of Lord Beaconsfield to admit that the peace which he had secured at Berlin was an an utter failure. The Anglo-Russian convention and the Anglo-Turkish treaty placed England in a position in which Russia could well afford to leave her. The impression that the Berlin Congress had resulted in a diplomatic triumph for Lord Beaconsfield has already faded away. It was due entirely to the fact that the Treaty of San Stefano had existed, and that its exaggerated provisions had been seriously modified. Had that treaty never been published, no one could have denied that Russia had gained by the war more than she anticipated when she began it; while she certainly has every reason to be satisfied with the position which she now occupies. To speak in the language of whist, the honors at Berlin were divided between England and Russia, and the former won the odd trick; but in the cards which they now hold Russia has all the honors, and England cannot boast a trump. All along the line the Muscovite is victorious. Austria, with a folly which has characterized her diplomacy for many years past, refused the offer of Russia to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina two years ago, on the ground that it would be a moral crime and a political blunder to do so. She has since perpetrated the crime and com-

mitted the blunder, and placed herself politically in a position which must, sooner or later, lead to her complete disintegration. Roumania casts longing eyes on the Bukowina and part of Transylvania, to which, on the principles laid down at the Berlin Congress, a similarity of race and religion entitles her. Germany still needs the Austro-German provinces in order to complete the united Fatherland which Prince Bismarck has set himself to create. Italia Irridenta is clamorous for Trieste and the Trientine. Hungary is in a chronic state of disaffection and discontent at the prospect of being surrounded and overwhelmed by Panslavism, and will be compelled, ere long, to adopt measures for her self-preservation. In a word, when Austria signed the Berlin Treaty she became a party to what, in all probability, will prove her own death-warrant. Meantime the Treaty of San Stefano still exists, in so far as it has not been abrogated by special provisions in the Treaty of Berlin, and forms the basis of a treaty which has just been concluded between Turkey and Russia.

In Asia the prestige of Russia has immensely increased. She has acquired the port of Batoum and the fortress of Kars. She has annexed a portion of Armenia, and handed over a slice of Turkish territory she did not desire as a free gift to Persia. Her influence is supreme in Afghanistan, and she has embroiled England with the ruler of that country to such an extent that a war between England and Afghanistan is inevitable. As if to render her already embarrassed position less tenable, England has encumbered herself with the protectorate of the Asiatic portion of the sultan's dominions, which was unnecessary, for she could always have protected them, had she so desired, without binding herself to do so. And she has pledged herself to reforms which are impracticable—because it is impossible for the Turkish Government ever to consent to them. Placed between the upper and nether millstones of Christian and Mussulman fanaticism, the sultan and his ministers are undergoing a process trituration which must terminate in disaster. The Christian powers do not even yet seem to comprehend that, even with the best will in the world, the Turkish Government is unable to control the turbulent fanaticism of its own population; and that, even though it may consent to every condition imposed upon it by the Christian powers, it is unable to guarantee the same compliance on the

part of the people. The late massacre of Mehemet Ali is a convincing proof of this. If England insists on an interference in the internal affairs of Asiatic Turkey, which the Mussulman element is determined to resist, the only consequence of concessions at Constantinople will be to produce a revolution there, which will overturn the sultan and his Government, and inaugurate a religious war, which must make the task of reform more impossible than ever.

The task which she has undertaken in Cyprus has already proved to be far more complicated and difficult than was anticipated, and so far the work of reform has not been attended with satisfactory results either to Turks or Christians. Why she should have hampered herself with the largest, most populous, most unhealthy, and least defensible island in the Mediterranean is another of those Asiatic mysteries which can only be accounted for by the dreams of Lord Beaconsfield's youth and the extraordinary ignorance which has characterized British diplomacy all through the question. A far safer, cheaper, and more valuable strategical point would have been Acre, on the mainland of Syria; but, even admitting that a desire to spare French susceptibilities rendered the acquisition of that fortress inexpedient, a transaction on the basis of M. Waddington's proposal at Berlin might have been completed, by which Batoum might have been saved to Turkey as a free port in return for a rectification of the Greek frontier in the sense desired by Greece, and a small Greek island have been ceded to England by Greece—such, for instance, as Milo—in return for the acquisition of Turkish territory which that country would have obtained through the rectification of frontier.

No sooner had the acquisition of Cyprus been decided upon, than the English Government was puzzled to know under what department to put it, whether it was to come under the administration of the India Office, or of the Colonial Office, or of the Foreign Office—whether, in a word, it was to be considered as still remaining Turkish, or as having been incorporated into the British dominions: this vagueness in regard to its Government still continues to exist and checks all development. Emigrants who flocked there are returning disgusted; capitalists are compelled to suspend operations until they know under what tenure they hold

land, and to what jurisdiction they are amenable; the number of troops is being diminished, so as to remove them from malarias which have filled the hospitals with fever-stricken patients. Nothing has so far transpired in Cyprus to prove that the Government is qualified to administer or reform Asia Minor, or to inspire confidence either in Christians or in Mohammedans.

The grand stroke by which Lord Beaconsfield electrified Europe, of bringing Indian troops to Malta, has caused a *contre-coup* by Russia. It was tacitly understood before that time that the European and Asiatic questions should be kept distinct; but, the moment that Indian troops appeared in Europe, Russian statesmen felt themselves relieved from all promises they had made of quiescence on the frontiers of India, and an expedition was at once organized on the Oxus, and a mission sent to the Ameer of Afghanistan. If England was going to attack Russia in Europe with India, she would retaliate by attacking England in Asia with Afghanistan. The present imbroglio on the north-western frontier may therefore be regarded indirectly as another result of the Berlin Congress, though it need never have occurred had British diplomacy in India been characterized by discretion and foresight. Lord Northbrook, who preceded Lord Lytton under a Liberal administration, pushed the policy of "masterly inactivity" to an unwise extreme; and his successor, by way of repairing the error, has rushed impetuously and inopportunely in the opposite direction. When Yakoob Bey, the ruler of Kashgar, sent a mission proposing a defensive alliance with England, it was coldly declined; partly on the ground that we believed the assurances of Russia that she had no intention of advancing toward the British frontier, and of annexing contiguous countries, and partly because it was felt that we were the best judges when to form defensive alliances with frontier Asiatic states, and that, if there really was any danger from Russia, they must ultimately be driven into the arms of England for protection. Thus in 1873, Shere Ali, the Ameer of Afghanistan, sent an envoy to Lord Northbrook also, to seek a defensive alliance with England; this emissary foretold, step by step, the subsequent Russian advances into Asia, but the Indian Government turned a deaf ear to his entreaties. The calculations of the "masterly inactivity" politicians have been utterly falsified.

Russia is advancing toward Cabool not with bayonets, but with *bonbons*. The *rôle* has been reversed: England threatens a hostile invasion if the ameer will not listen to her demand for the establishment of British residents in the principal towns of Afghanistan, and Russia has undertaken the part of guide, philosopher, and friend, to his Highness. It was as injudicious at this crisis for Lord Lytton to attempt to force the ameer into being an open enemy, as it was short-sighted of Lord Northbrook to refuse five years ago to make him our secret friend. The mistakes involved by these two diametrically opposite policies are now past recall, and we have embarked upon a venture which in the opinion of the best military authorities is as unsound strategically as it certainly is unsafe diplomatically.

If England expects ever to be involved in a war with Russia on her northwestern frontier, her object should be not to annex disaffected states with a view of approaching Russia, thus lengthening her own lines of communication, and increasing her political and military difficulties, but rather to force that dangerous process upon her enemy, while she holds her armies massed behind the almost impregnable frontier positions which she now occupies. The conquest of Afghanistan must be a source of weakness morally and strategically to whichever power, whether it be Russia or England, undertakes it. Politically, it is calculated to alienate the sympathies of all Mussulman populations. If Russia were to attack Afghanistan, England could rouse the Central Asian khanates against her, and her whole frontier would be in a blaze which would render any further advance upon India an impossibility. But if England attacks Afghanistan, as it is now certain that she must, Russia comes forward as the champion of Mohammedanism, the khanates will mistrust the sympathy of England, while Russia will actively intrigue in the Mohammedan states of Hindostan, some of which, as in the case of Hyderabad, are brooding over grievances and breaches of faith, which they are only waiting a favorable opportunity to avenge.

The prospect, from a purely military point of view, is not more encouraging. Former experience of campaigns in Afghanistan has proved that the race is fanatic and warlike, the country mountainous and inhospitable, and the region altogether difficult

to subdue, and materially not worth holding. It will be impossible, either at Quetta or at Thull, the two points from which the advance into the country is to be made, to mass a sufficient body of troops to advance before the end of October or beginning of November, which only leaves a month or six weeks of open weather. In winter the passes are covered with six feet of snow. A march on Cabool would probably be too hazardous to undertake at so late a period of the year; but it is just possible if no hitch occurs, and the independent hill tribes can be bribed into friendly relations, that a British army may occupy Khoorum and Candahar before the setting in of winter, and without any serious resistance. The news which reaches us of a disturbance in Seistan at this juncture is full of significance. This territory has long been claimed by Persia, and the dispute was settled by an English frontier commission a few years ago in a manner which did not afford satisfaction either to Persia or Afghanistan. Russia has no doubt incited Persia to reopen the question, and that country may take advantage of the difficulty in which Shere Ali finds himself, of attacking his western frontier. Russia would play the part in that case of a false friend to the ameer, and lead him to his own destruction, as her relations with Persia are of such a nature that the extrusion of the frontier of that power toward India practically affords a means of access to her own armies. With the Afghan fortresses of Herat and Furrur in the hands of Persia, and Merv in the hands of Russia, with a nominee of her own at Balkh, Russia could afford to see Afghanistan crumble to pieces, which it would assuredly do with a British force at Candahar and Girishk. In other words, England would then find herself face to face with Russia, and Persia in close alliance in the mountains of Afghanistan; but it is more than probable that Russia would support Persia, keeping in the background herself, upon the same principle which she adopted in the case of Servia: although that principality was a part of Turkey, England made no remonstrance when Russian volunteers poured in to assist the Servians in their war against Turkey, and supplied her armies with officers and munitions of war. She might do the same for Persia, while still professing to be animated by the most peaceful sentiments toward England. It is not likely that the British nation would submit to such an infraction of inter-

national law, although they did not object to it in the case of Turkey. The morality which approved of Christian volunteers from Russia helping the belligerent Servian will object to those same volunteers helping the belligerent Persian, and will maintain that the international code which applies to the Turk does not apply to the Englishman. In that case England would declare war against Russia, and probably endeavor to excite the Central Asian khanates against her, while she made a demonstration against Persia on the Persian Gulf.

As Afghanistan is a country utterly valueless as a territorial possession, the effort of England should be to reconstitute it as an independent state under a friendly ruler, and offer him whatever he may be able to obtain either from Persia or Russia, affording him the same assistance against Russia that Russia was giving Persia against England, and so throw upon Russia the responsibility of a declaration of war. Still farther east, on the Russo-Chinese frontier, complications are arising which, it is evident, must lead to hostilities between Muscovite and Mongol. The Chinese have made a demand for the cession of the province of Kuldja, which was formerly Chinese territory, and was conquered from the late Yakoob Bey of Kashgar. The Russian *St. Petersburg Journal* strongly urges the Government to refuse to surrender this province, on the ground that, if Kuldja were to be ceded to China, Russian rule in the eastern part of Central Asia would be undermined. "The western frontier," says the Russian organ, "is already half in the hands of England, and, if Kuldja is given up, the operations of the Russians in that region will be attended with great risks. Eastern Turkistan would in fact no longer exist for us. The surrender of Kuldja to China would be another triumph for England, and the Mantchoos would hold their heads higher than ever. In fine, Russian influence in Central Asia would be shaken."

From all of which it would seem tolerably clear that, whichever way events turn, Central Asia is destined to become a theatre of war, if not this autumn, at any rate in the spring, and that the events transpiring will bring Russia and England into such close juxtaposition that the gravest complications are likely to arise, which may include a European war next year.

In France and Germany this cloud in the East is regarded

with some anxiety; for, though it is a long way from the German to the Chinese frontier, there is a train of gunpowder laid the entire distance, and the spark is being applied even now.

Many indications show of late that the German chancellor does not consider the war-fiend appeased, and that he is preparing new combinations in anticipation of the coming storm. To him, at all events, it would seem that the old triple alliance is at an end. The conversations published by the *Times* correspondent in Paris of his sentiments toward Prince Gortchakoff, though denied by the German official papers, faithfully indicate the altered relations which now subsist between the two chancellors, whose long friendship depended only upon the use one thought he could make of the other. So long as Russia was the most powerful military nation next to Germany, and the hopes of France were fixed upon a Muscovite alliance which might one day lead her to her revenge, so long did Prince Bismarck keep Russia chained to his chariot-wheels by flattery and offers of service and coöperation; but the moment that Russia, weakened and exhausted, could no longer be useful to him, he led her to a political defeat which England lacked the firmness and intelligence to inflict, and since then has abandoned her entirely to her own devices, and openly quarreled with her leading statesman. In the same manner we have significant rumors of a coolness between Prince Bismarck and Count Andrassy, and the former has undoubtedly done all in his power to encourage Austria to enter the Slav trap prepared for her in Bosnia. On the other hand, the relations of Germany and France have undergone the most marked change. An obnoxious minister has been recalled from Berlin, and M. St. Vallier, a personal friend of the emperor's, has been sent there, while the tone of the French press in regard to Germany has been sensibly modified. If Germany can be compensated by the annexation of German provinces from Austria, it is not impossible that an alliance might be cemented between France and her old enemy by the cession to the former of some territory, taken during the war, which is not German. If Prince Bismarck has designs upon weakened Russia and disintegrated Austria, it is not difficult to see how he might purchase, if not the coöperation, at all events the neutrality, of France; and it is to be remembered that Russia as well as

Austria has German provinces. There are also good reasons why German policy should incline to a friendly understanding with England, which, since Russia can no longer be depended upon, is the power to which France has of late been clinging. It should be the object of English statesmen, if such exist, to bring about a triple Western alliance between England, France, and Germany in view of the Eastern complications which must inevitably arise again next year.

Unhappily, at the critical moment when the ship of state needs the most skillful steering, she has no pilot upon whom any reliance can be placed. The glamour of the Berlin Congress is fading away, and the public are awaking to the painful consciousness of having celebrated a victory which may yet turn out to have been a defeat, and of having proclaimed the triumph of a statesman whose only merit lies in the fact that he has not plunged the country into so deep an abyss as his great opponent seemed to desire.

This will not prevent a reaction setting in as the clouds gather more thickly on the horizon, and the first notes of war are sounded. It will be all the more intense because it will result from keen disappointment, and a vague sense on the part of the public that they have been taken in. Already, the Liberals are giving tongue in this sense like a pack of hounds opening on a new scent. Though they have been too disunited, ever since they first hounded on Russia to make the war from which all subsequent trouble has arisen, to propose a policy or offer a solution which the country could adopt, they are united enough now in calling attention to the blunders of the Government in grappling with the dangers which they themselves created. However incapable the present cabinet may be of directing the destinies of the country, their opponents have shown themselves infinitely more ignorant of existing conditions in the East, and far more incompetent to deal with them. Nowhere is this shallow appreciation more conspicuously apparent than in the daily papers. With the exception of one evening journal, they have manifested neither independence of party considerations nor an accurate knowledge of the questions with which they have had to deal. It is only now dawning upon them, for instance, that the majority of Mohammedans in Turkey are not Turks, that the power of the Gov-

ernment to execute reform is limited, and that concessions wrung from the sultan may be refused altogether by his subjects. It is now apparent that the reforms which Christian Europe proposed to force on Turkey two years ago could only be introduced after wholesale massacres, no matter whether the Porte consented to them or not; but at that time the humanitarian papers were ringing with the assurance that, if England had only put on a little more pressure at the Constantinople conference, the sultan would have given in, and the question would have been solved. They have since then applauded the Treaty of Berlin, which they are now beginning to admit has had the effect of creating new problems, instead of solving old ones; they are panic-stricken by the new phase which the question has assumed in India, and alternate between empty bluster and feeble recrimination. The public, bewildered and misled, is thoroughly disgusted alike with its politicians and their newspaper organs, and feels that the country is drifting into an unknown sea of peril, without either a pilot or a compass. The Liberal leaders, who have shown themselves ignorant, parochial, and insular, desire to draw the country into its shell, and leave India, the colonies, and foreign interests generally, to their fate, while the Government have blundered fatally in their struggles after "imperialization;" they have mixed up questions which might have been kept separated, have imported Asiatic into European politics, have assumed responsibilities which it is impossible they can ever fulfill, have acquired protectorates and territory which are burdensome and valueless, have let loose forces of religious fanaticism, and pitted races against each other which can only exhaust themselves with fire and sword; they have sanctioned a principle of spoliation of territory on religious grounds, and of internal interference in the domestic concerns of other nations which must lead to revolution wherever it is applied; and they have condemned their country to play the most prominent part in the chaos which they have thus evoked, and themselves to a policy which must inevitably lead to their downfall.

AN OLD DIPLOMATIST.

IV.

JAPAN AND THE WESTERN POWERS.

After an extended sojourn as a student, in Europe and America, for nearly eight years, I lately returned home filled with wild expectations in regard to the great improvements now universally acknowledged. I am obliged to say, however, that in the habits of the people and public improvements generally there has been less progress than I expected to see. But that the country has undergone a complete revolution in sentiment, both social and political, is beyond question. In this particular I am agreeably surprised. The numerous journals which have sprung into being since 1872, and whose editorials may fairly be taken as expressing the opinions of that class of people mostly interested in the welfare of the empire, teem with intelligent discussions, both of a social and political nature.

The most prominent and noteworthy questions discussed are those bearing upon the subject of the revision of the existing treaties; and it is evident that both the Government and people are in perfect accord on this subject. It is also evident that they are now wide-awake from the seeming slumber of the years just past; and they are no longer dreaming of the blissfulness of the "Tariff Convention," nor yearning after the blessedness of "extra-territorial jurisdiction."

It was in 1853 that Commodore M. C. Perry arrived in Japanese waters, in command of the United States squadron, bearing a letter from the President of the United States to the Government of Japan.

On the 30th of March, 1854, a "treaty of peace and amity" was signed by Commodore Perry and the commissioners of the Tycoon.

A similar convention, but providing for the opening of Na-

gasaki, was signed October 14, 1854, by the commissioners of the Tycoon Government and Sir James S. Knight, H. B. M. rear-admiral in the East Indies. On the 26th of February, 1855, a treaty was made with Russia; and in the spring of 1856 Holland made a somewhat more extended treaty, but no additional privileges were granted by Japan.

In June, 1857, Mr. Townsend Harris, United States consul-general, made another convention, more commercial in its character, but this was revoked by the treaty of 1858. This was followed on the 16th of October by the Netherlands, and a convention was made, as a supplementary treaty to the previous one. Russia also followed the same course October 24, 1857.

We now come to the more important treaty of July 29, 1858, with the United States, upon which I must dwell more than on the preceding, for this one served especially as the model of all the other treaties subsequently made, and now existing. On this account I propose to point out such of its provisions as are quite peculiar to itself, and very uncommon in the treaties between sovereign powers. It provides that—

"The President of the United States, at the request of the Japanese Government, will act as a friendly mediator in such matters of difference as may arise between the Government of Japan and any European power. The ships-of-war of the United States shall render friendly aid and assistance to such Japanese vessels as they may meet on the high-seas, so far as can be done without a breach of neutrality, and all American consuls residing at ports visited by Japanese vessels shall also give them such friendly aid as may be permitted by the laws of the respective countries in which they reside."

It is fair and proper to remark that these provisions are absent from all the other treaties, thereby showing that the United States was most forward to treat with Japan in a friendly spirit.

Again:

"The place which the Americans shall occupy for their buildings, and the harbor regulations, shall be arranged by the American consul and the authorities of each place; and, if they cannot agree, the matter shall be referred to and settled by the American diplomatic agent and the Japanese Government."

Here appears the first "cloven-foot," as this article strips the Japanese Government of its absolute and sovereign power to establish harbor and municipal regulations. Imagine England dictating the municipal laws or harbor regulations of an American city!

But to continue:

"Duties shall be paid to the Government of Japan on all goods landed in the country, and on all articles of Japanese production that are exported as cargo, according to the *tariff hereunto appended:*" also "all goods which are imported into Japan, and which have paid the duty fixed by this treaty, may be transported by the Japanese into any part of the empire, without the payment of any *tax, excise,* or *transit duty whatever.*"

Here Japan is again strangled; her hands and feet are alike tied. Nor are these all the odious provisions; additional and more onerous burdens are placed upon her shoulders by the "Tariff Convention" of 1866, but these will be discussed in their proper place.

And again:

"All foreign coin shall be current in Japan, and pass for its *corresponding weight* of Japanese coin of the same description; and Americans and Japanese may freely use foreign or Japanese coin in making payments to each other."

Owing to the greater intrinsic value of Japanese coin, the practical effect of this clause was to deplete the country of its treasure; and while Japan was flooded with unnecessary merchandise at extravagant prices from European countries, the old coins—gold and silver—of the empire were recoined in remote capitals, and then beautified with the visages of civilized potentates. It was subsequently found, however, that this monetary arrangement was not without some alloy, and so it was practically nullified by the "Tariff Convention" of 1866.

Furthermore:

"Americans committing offenses against Japanese shall be tried in American consular courts, and when found guilty shall be punished according to American law. Japanese committing offenses against Americans shall be tried by the Japanese authorities, and punished according to Japanese law."

Although probably disputed by highly-intelligent diplomatists, it seems to me that a fair construction of these clauses entitles both governments to establish in each other's country judicial courts. The United States has had its consular courts in all the open ports of Japan for many years; and it is no novelty to say that they have exhibited at times the most curious proceedings and results, which were in keeping with anything but the spirit and letter of law. On the other hand, Japan has not as yet had any occasion to establish similar courts in the United States. It need hardly be said that the attraction will be great when a Japanese consular court or some other "authority" shall be created in a metropolis like New York, and a trial shall take place when the plaintiff is an American and the defendant a Japanese! Is it likely that the American judges would feel any "exceeding joy" because they were thus much relieved of their labors?

And once again:

"In the opened harbors of Japan, Americans shall be free to go where they please, within a limit of about twenty miles in all directions."

And, finally:

"The articles for the regulation of trade which we append to this treaty shall be considered as forming a part of the same, and shall be equally binding on both the contracting parties to this treaty, and on their citizens and subjects."

This makes it binding upon the Japanese Government to strictly observe the "regulations of trade," which cannot be changed in the least degree, however incompatible with the interests of Japan, without the most elaborate "diplomatic" negotiations with, and "consent" of, the foreign representatives. How would America like to adopt such trade regulations at home? Do we not find in this a beautiful application of the golden precept to "do unto others as we would have them do unto us?"

The trade regulations conclude by providing that—

"Five years after the opening of Kanagawa, which took place in 1859, the import and export duties shall be subject to revision, if the *Japanese Government desires it.*"

We shall presently return to this clause and show how its spirit

and letter were alike ignored, and a tariff of an entirely different nature was adopted. The above text was adopted by the other powers, as one would adopt an India-rubber suit, and several treaties were signed as follows: Russia, August 7, 1858; Holland, August 18, 1858; Great Britain, August 26, 1858; France, October 9, 1858; Portugal, August 3, 1860; Prussia, January 24, 1861; and Switzerland, February 6, 1864. Then came the famous "Tariff Convention" of June 25, 1866, with "bonded warehouse regulations," followed by Belgium, August 1, 1866; Italy, August 25, 1866; Denmark, January 1, 1867; Sweden and Norway, January 11, 1868; Spain, November 12, 1868; North Germany, February 20, 1869; and Austria, October 18, 1869.

It will thus be seen that America led the rest of the world in its intercourse with the empire of the "Rising Sun."

It was the United States that made the first treaty of peace and amity with Japan; it was that republic which made the first treaty for "regulating the intercourse of American citizens within the empire of Japan;" it was the United States also which made the first treaty of "amity and commerce," and in none of these do we find as cunning devices of diplomatic imposition as have since been inaugurated by later "diplomats." The course of American diplomacy was appreciated then, is appreciated now, and will be in the future, shining brightly in the pages of history. After the first treaty had been signed, and the sincerity of American friendship confided in by the Japanese authorities, as was the case, it would have been comparatively easy to impose any stipulation which might ultimately destroy the prosperity of the empire, upon those who hardly knew what a treaty meant. But America would not attempt such an unjust policy against a people enfeebled by long isolation from the family of nations, and by the suicidal policy of the Tokugawa despotism. The friendly and conscientious course of the United States in dealing with Japan in those days cannot be over-estimated.

That republic, I must repeat, led others in making reasonable treaties, but not in inaugurating the cowardly policy of "coöperation"—a policy introduced at a later date to carry out the purely selfish object of forcing the products of Manchester upon unwilling markets. It was the fair and manly action of the American minister at the time that secured the confidence of

the Tycoon's authorities; and were it not for this confidence, thus early obtained, the agents of other powers would surely have met with anything but success in their endeavors to make treaties with Japan. To show the correctness of this view, it is enough to say that even the British Government presented to Mr. Harris a gold snuff-box, in acknowledgment of his good offices and assistance when Lord Elgin was negotiating for a treaty; and that his name is often resorted to by some of the foreign representatives in justification of the claim that the "Tariff Convention" of 1866 must always remain in force, because the system was inaugurated by him, "the faithful friend of Japan." But they cannot convince us that his motive in attaching the tariff stipulation to the treaty of 1858 was to perpetuate a system; but it was merely a temporary expedient, to remain in force only until such time as Japan should become familiar with the ways of enlightened foreigners. The whole career of this diplomat, whatever he may have been, proves him to have been a true friend of Japan, as well as entirely loyal to his own country.

Returning to the concluding provision of the trade regulations, above cited, let us examine the details and circumstances under which the "Tariff Convention" was signed.

Instead of carrying out that provision, namely, that the tariff shall be subject to revision, five years after the opening of Kanagawa, according to the desire of the Japanese Government, the foreign representatives forced upon the Yedo Government the adoption of the "Tariff Convention" of 1866.

This nefarious transaction was done at the time when Japan was convulsed by internal commotion, growing directly or indirectly out of her sudden association with the family of nations. The old system of feudalism was falling to pieces, the relation of retainer to his hereditary prince was being discussed, the dual government of Mikado and Tycoon was being criticised, peasant and noble saw that a great change was impending, clans were gathering, men were muttering, and Japan found herself in the throe of a revolution. Notwithstanding all this, the Japanese Government was faithfully carrying out its treaty obligations; but with the general discontent prevailing it was impossible to control every action of irresponsible people, or to prevent individual Japanese and foreigners from occasionally coming into collision.

Such collisions were infrequent, but, when they did occur, were always magnified, and reparation and indemnity demanded from the Government; and thus, in addition to internal troubles, were added perplexing and unnecessary complications and demands—made for the purpose (as the Japanese will always believe) of increasing the difficulties of the Government, and, by weakening it, placing it in a condition in which it might be coerced. These foreign demands, as they became known, increased the popular commotion, and resulted, as they were bound to do, in unfriendly acts and outrages upon several foreigners by irresponsible Japanese. But there were indeed many cases where fatal collisions were purposely provoked by foreigners, the results of which were no more a matter of satisfaction to us than of regret. Such was precisely the case of Richardson, the Englishman who willfully tried to ride through the train of the state procession of "Prince Satsuma," and was killed by a retainer of the prince, an act which, at that time of feudalism, was entirely justifiable, because such discourtesy to a princely retinue was deemed an unpardonable outrage. It was in retaliation for the death of Richardson that a British squadron, in 1863, bombarded the city of Kagoshima, destroying a large part of the place and property to the value of several millions of dollars; and, not satisfied with this, the Japanese Government was compelled to pay the British representatives an indemnity of over four hundred thousand dollars. About this time a certain French vessel and an American merchant-vessel were fired upon by the reckless soldiers in the fortress of Shimonoseki, and prompt retaliation was meted out by the naval forces of the respective countries so offended. Even an indemnity was demanded in the case of the United States vessel, and duly paid by the Tycoon. But the English authority in Japan (although no English vessel had been attacked) was not satisfied with such lenient punishment and limited indemnity. Hence, in spite of his instructions, he concocted a famous naval expedition; and thus, on a certain day in 1864, was fought the *great* and *memorable* battle of Shimonoseki, between a prince of Japan on the one hand and Great Britain, Holland, France, and the United States, on the other.

The combined fleet of the foreign powers consisted of eighteen vessels, carrying 287 guns, while the Prince of Choshin was

fortified with a few crude batteries, and had three small vessels, fitted out as gunboats, and a few battalions of irregular soldiers. His batteries were spoiled and razed; the boats were sunk; and the town of Shimonoseki destroyed. It was indeed a *glorious victory!* And what else? A convention was subsequently forced upon the Tycoon's government, and reluctantly signed by the latter, the substance of which was as follows:

"1. The amount payable to the four powers is fixed at three millions of dollars ($3,000,000)," etc.

"2. The whole sum to be payable quarterly," etc.

"3. Insomuch as the receipt of money has never been the object of the said powers, but the establishment of better relations with Japan, and a desire to place these on a more satisfactory and mutually advantageous footing is still the leading object in view: therefore, if his Majesty the Tycoon wishes to offer, in lieu of the payment of the sum claimed, and as a material compensation for loss and injury sustained, the opening of Shimonoseki, or some other eligible port in the Inland Sea, it shall be at the option of the said foreign governments to accept the same, or insist on the payment of the indemnity in money, under the conditions above stipulated.

"4. This convention to be formally ratified by the Tycoon's government within fifteen days from the date thereof."

As this indemnity was declared by the American Secretary of State to have been most unjustly exacted, and as the United States is the only Government which has thus far, by the votes of its national Legislature, acknowledged that indemnity to have been a gross wrong against the law of nations, as well as against Japan, we are once more enabled to draw a contrast, in their line of conduct, between the European powers and the United States. A most "eligible port," that of Kobe, on the Inland Sea, was demanded by the foreign representatives, backed by the fleets of the four nations, and was subsequently opened and settled; and yet, the last farthing of the indemnity was insisted upon. Was not this a handsome business? Did those representatives imagine that such dealings with a feeble nation would glorify their names in the pages of history, and be read without a blush by future generations?

Passing over, for want of space, some details in this connec-

tion, let us now briefly examine the important and unique features of the "Tariff Convention" itself. It begins as follows:

"The representatives of Great Britain, France, the United States of America, and Holland, having received from their respective governments identical instructions for the modification of the tariff of import and export duties contained in the trade regulations annexed to the treaties concluded by the aforesaid powers with the Japanese Government in 1858, which modification is provided for by the seventh of those regulations" (what glaring violation there has been of the spirit and letter of that article!); that "the Japanese Government promised, during their visit to Osaka in 1865, to revise the tariff on the general basis of five per cent. duty on both imports and exports" (this reminds the writer of a few powerful and muscular men holding a child by the throat and exacting from it a promise!); that "the Japanese Government, being desirous of affording a fresh proof of their wish to promote trade and to cement the friendly relations which exist between their country and foreign nations" (what a sweet phrase this is! Must the poor and weak give up his *all* to cement the friendship with the opulent?); that "the contracting parties formally accept, as binding upon the subjects of their respective sovereigns and the citizens of their respective countries, the tariff thereby established and annexed to the present convention; that this tariff is substituted for the original tariff attached to the treaties of 1858; that the new tariff shall come into effect in the port of Yokohama on the 1st day of July, 1866, and is subject to revision on and after the 1st day of July, 1872" (remember this convention was signed on the 25th of June, 1866!); "that all articles of Japanese production conveyed to the open ports shall be free of tax; that one hundred Mexican dollars shall be received at the custom-house as substitutes for 311 ichiboos" (Japanese old silver coins); "that upon their concurrence the Japanese Government was to enlarge the mint to secure an adequate issue of native coins, so as to exchange these with foreign coins from time to time, as the merchants might desire, and the seigniorage was to be determined by the common consent of the contracting parties; and that the foreign consuls and the governor of each port were to make jointly, and by mutual consent, such regulations as would facilitate custom-house business."

The convention concludes with the following words:

"The undersigned being of opinion that it is unnecessary that

this convention should be submitted to their respective governments for ratification before it comes into operation, it will take effect on and from the 1st day of July, 1866."

A mere perusal of this concluding clause, when compared with the foregoing provisions, must convince any impartial reader that, either the contracting parties on one side regarded the whole subject as trivial, or, knowing the exact bearing of it, as they ought to have known, they forced it upon the other party, which amounted to nothing less than an unworthy deception. Yes, a treaty depriving a feeble nation of the power to legislate in regard to its tariff, thus crippling its national finances and industries, even threatening its very existence, was regarded by "the undersigned" as being too unimportant to require a proper ratification "before it comes" into operation; and five days after the treaty was signed it went into operation.

For want of space, we cannot here examine at length the tariff itself; suffice it to say that all articles of both imports and exports, with few exceptions, are subjected to a duty of five per cent., *opium* being the only article *absolutely prohibited.*

As the inevitable result of this convention, Japan alone has suffered. During the last eight and a half years preceding June 30, 1876, the average amount of annual trade was $40,895,390; that of imports over exports, $7,255,164; while the aggregate amount of trade was $347,610,818, and the total balance against Japan amounted to $61,668,892 (an amount equal to that of the annual revenue of the empire), and eight-tenths at least of this sum have found their way into the pockets of Englishmen. Should such an order of things continue forever?

It is proper to state that the year ending June 30, 1877, was somewhat better. The total amount of trade was $52,625,355, and the exports from Japan over the imports amounted to $2,207,917. But this, however, is attributable entirely to an accidental cause. The production in silk having failed abroad for that year, the demand for Japanese silk was unusually large, causing a favorable result in a degree. As is seen from the customs returns, so far as published for the recently ended fiscal year, the balance of trade cannot but be against Japan. One thing is certain, that something must be done to check this state of affairs, if Japan means to live long!

Japan now fully recognizes her responsibility as a member of the family of nations, and this through the instrumentality of the United States. As mentioned elsewhere, all the treaties were first signed with the United States, excepting the "Shimonoseki Convention" and the "Tariff Convention," which were the result of the unworthy intrigues of other parties; and, although it is true that the United States was a party to them, she was not the leading spirit, but, by force of circumstances, she simply joined with the rest. This is known and recognized by all parties.

Having said this much, let us pause a moment and meditate. Is there not a certain amount of moral responsibility on the part of the United States regarding the future welfare of Japan? If there is, will she not see to it that Japan's just demand, to resume, as an independent nation, the legislative power regarding her foreign commerce and customs tariff, shall be complied with? Will it not be extremely proper for her also to lead other powers in delivering Japan from these entangling arrangements, as she did in regard to the old treaty?

Whatever may be the idea entertained by the United States and other powers regarding their moral responsibilities for the prosperity of Japan, there is no alternative for us but that we must regain, at any cost, that inherent right to legislate independenlty of the treaty powers on the customs tariff and foreign commerce. Surely we cannot, nay, will not, submit ourselves any longer to this slow but sure process of "capitulation"—the death of the national life.

Look at the history of the Ottoman Empire: what was the condition of her native industry about a century ago, and what is it now? Read the pitiful story in this connection, recorded by J. R. McCulloch, as well as the statistics of the time.

Must Japan calmly await the time—which will surely come, if not warded off—when her fate will be like that of Turkey, deplorable in the extreme? The conduct of the foremost foreign agent in Japan seems to say "Yes, Japan must wait." Is it because Japan is a heathen nation that the avowedly Christian and civilized powers abuse and persecute her to the extreme? Must the heathen nation turn the other cheek that the Christian may smite?

Judging from the sentiments advocated by the English organs at Yokohama for many years past, no other conclusion can be reached than that at least the people whom these organs represent expect us to submit for ever to the onerous conditions of "capitulation." In reference to the proposed abolition of the "Tariff Convention," they expressed their aversion to it, making a series of assertions of the most preposterous nature, fit only for those devoid of reason and a sense of decency. It was declared by one of these organs that though Japan might desire to exercise freely her own judgment in matters affecting the customs tariff, England would kindly advise her as an elder sister would a younger, saying, "My dear sister, you wish to do this and that, but I think you are not capable of judging, and I cannot consent to your doing so." This affectionate admonition contrasts beautifully with the fact that the Japanese exports to England amounted to less than $4,000,000 in 1866, and $9,000,000 in 1877, while the English exports to Japan in 1866 were very nearly $15,000,000, and over $15,000,000 in 1877.

In the face of these figures and other figures elsewhere mentioned, do they still expect Japan to accept the tender counsels of "the elder sister," following the footsteps of the Ottoman Empire to the very end of self-destruction? Away, I say, with such a delusion!

It is well known that in the year 1872 the Japanese embassadors had a negotiation with the Government of the United States for the general revision of treaties, and, for some reasons not clear to outsiders, the negotiation fell through; and until recently nothing more was heard regarding the revision.

But it is now authentically stated that a formal proposition to revise the existing treaties has lately been made to all the treaty powers. What Japan desires by this treaty to accomplish seems to be very simple and extremely reasonable. It desires, in the first place, that the "Tariff Convention" of 1866 and the "trade regulations" attached to the treaty of 1858 shall be annulled, so as to enable Japan to legislate independently upon matters connected with her tariff and foreign commerce; and, secondly, she proposes to open, to the people and vessels of the countries which shall accept the first proposition, such additional ports as will be best calculated for commercial purposes. To my mind there

cannot be a more reasonable proposition. It is not to be doubted that those powers which entertain the slightest feeling of justice and sympathy toward Japan, and whose eyes are open to the wider interests of their future commercial relations with her, will not hesitate to comply with the expressed desire of Japan. But just here I cannot restrain myself from expressing my surprise that our Government does not boldly demand that the "extra-territorial jurisdiction" shall be also given up. It must be plain to the rulers that, so long as this remains in force, a decent government is an impossibility. How long are they willing to endure this sort of imposition? We, the people, cannot certainly continue much longer to suffer the double yokes upon our necks. I say "double," because we are subjected to the prompt execution of our strict law—civil and criminal—whenever resorted to; while a foreign subject is allowed to violate our laws with impunity, if such violation be not the violation at the same time of the law of the nation to which he belongs; and it is also true that, even when he violates the law of his nation, he is too often only nominally punished. The effect of all this is to compel us, the people of the soil, to socially and legally humble ourselves in dealing with the favored alien, an invader of the soil.

It will not be out of place here to give a few facts to corroborate these grievances. A certain American captain, by the name of Batchelder, has been a tenant for the last six or seven years in the Tsukiji settlement, Tokio. The payment of five years' rent was withheld; the landlord, the municipal government of Tokio, sued before the American consular court for the recovery of the rent. The plea of the defendant was briefly as follows: that the Japanese Government having established by convention a settlement for foreign people, it had thus by implication bound itself not to allow foreigners to live without the said settlement; that notwithstanding this the Japanese Government did allow foreigners this freedom to some extent, thereby causing loss to the defendant's holding; therefore he had the right to withhold the payment of rent as well as to occupy the said premises. The American judge decided in favor of the defendant. Shortly after a precisely similar case to the above was brought against a Mrs. Blackley in the British court; the plea was similar, and the British judge decided that "the defendant must be compelled to

pay" the rent. In the mean time the Japanese Government was moving for a new trial of Batchelder's case. One day, to the great surprise of the authorities and the public, an overture was made by the captain to pay the whole amount of five years' rent, despite the judgment awarded in his favor, and the municipal authority of Tokio quietly accepted it. Thus was wound up the whole affair of the ground-rent cases.

No comment or explanation is needed regarding the vast difference between the results of the two cases. There is another and more recent instance of a flagrant violation of the treaty under cover of "the extra-territorial jurisdiction" clause.

During the last spring a certain English merchant, Hartley by name, was detected while trying to smuggle through the custom-house a large quantity of opium. The customs authority, of course, seized it, and brought an action against Hartley before the British court for the fine as specifically provided in the treaty. After a long and exhaustive trial Mr. H. S. Wilkinson, "acting law-secretary of H. B. Majesty's legation" in Tokio, sitting as judge in a British court, decided in favor of the defendant; and a decree was recorded that he, and as matter of course all English subjects, might freely import opium as a medicinal article, after paying an *ad valorem* duty of five per cent. "The ground upon which the acting law-secretary based his judgment was that the opium in question was in his opinion 'medicinal opium,' and as such not subject to the prohibitory clause of the treaty." But our readers will remember that the prohibition of opium, set forth in the treaty, is absolute and unconditional.

Shortly afterward the same party, Hartley, endeavored again to smuggle opium concealed in a package of gum-arabic; and trial ensued as before. This time Mr. Wilkinson ruled that, "as all the goods which were capable of being duly entered were so entered, there could be no confiscation," and decreed that the once confiscated article should, therefore, be delivered over to Hartley.

It is needless to say that each and all of these cases are extremely anomalous and arbitrary. Even the most absolute and despotic monarch of this nineteenth century would not dare to be so inconsistent and arbitrary in dealing with the least of his subjects! And yet a certain foreign agent, sitting, as it were, on

a phantom throne called "ex-territorial jurisdiction" smiles at and encourages all these outrages with apparent impunity. The very plot, now existing, of forcing opium into Japan, finds, it is conceded generally, its origin in the self-same individual who figured very conspicuously in the bloody Opium War in China about twenty years ago. It is no wonder that he should help to complicate the new opium agitation, when we recollect how reckless his actions were in the attempt to rescue the Arrow, the famous opium-smuggler, from the Chinese authorities.

By dearly-bought experience our rulers very well know that, whatever may be its nature, any proposition made by our Government is twisted, distorted and subjected to all sorts of procrastination; and that all past attempts to accomplish an end, by means of reconciliation, with the pretended assistance of the shrewd diplomats, have failed.

Since the failure of the Washington negotiation, over six years ago, what has been accomplished in the direction of treaty revision? Absolutely nothing—so far as we know—and time is passing swiftly. Shall another decade be permitted to roll away before our Government will have courage to demand the repeal of the "extra-territorial jurisdiction" incubus? Or is it the intention of our rulers to delay this step until the time shall arrive when they will be compelled, by some event like a general uprising of the people, to make an untimely effort? If not so, why is it that they do not promptly act, when there is as good a chance and as absolute a right to attain the object as at any future time? O ye rulers of my country, ye are responsible for the future destiny of Japan! "Wake up," I beseech you, and do something better for us than you have hitherto done, in regard to our foreign policy! Why so timid and over-careful? Are ye all afraid of the "black vessels" and "guns?" Threatening as they may appear, they cannot, in these days, be made to work without good and ample cause. No power would dare to declare war, because we had demanded and insisted that the "odious provision" should be abrogated, on the ground that "it is an absolute burden upon" Japan, and that she can suffer it no longer. The treaty powers, each and all, have long since accepted—and now hold it as an inviolable maxim in their mutual intercourse—that "every nation has certain rights called Primary

and Absolute Rights, with regard to other nations, which pertain to its moral being as an independent political body, and the enjoyment of which is indispensable to its existence as such." Among these "the most essential, and as it were the Cardinal Right, upon which all others hinge, is that of self-preservation," and that any other rights which may be called "Secondary or Conditional Rights" are the outgrowth of the free exercise of those absolute rights. We, who have adopted them, have a perfect right to expect that the treaty powers will not trespass upon these principles in their intercourse with Japan.

Now that the experience of the last twenty years convinces us that the sanction of the "extra-territorial jurisdiction" was a grave error—though committed by the free exercise of those absolute rights—we now desire that it shall be abolished. It is well-nigh threatening the national existence, and this the treaty powers know full well. What right has any one of them to refuse a demand to abrogate this "odious burden?" I cannot believe, as some of our dignitaries seem to believe, that the nation claiming superiority in justice and civilization will forever try to "bully" a young and good-hearted nation. But, if by some accident they should, why shall we not abrogate the whole of our commercial treaties, and resume the original and absolute rights of our independent nation, and open the whole empire to all who obey the laws? This is a simple proposition; but, in the opinion of my readers, am I too rash and forgetful of the multifarious threats of the past? Nay! I remember them too well. Wineglasses and tumblers, at a stately conference, may be smashed on the table, and these words be uttered: "If you do not this nor concede that, your country will be smashed after this manner!" Failing at a negotiation with the proper authority, the premier may be reached and intimidated with the usual threats; a marine corps or two may be landed without permission and without cause; seaport cities and towns may have been hastily bombarded without sufficient cause; the operation of the postal-union treaty may be retarded for fourteen months by an annoying interference of a representative; the alleged right to have a voice in framing the quarantine regulations may be claimed, and defied with an outspoken threat to resort to force; the Yokohama "organs" may be encouraged to criticise all acts of the Government;

and they may have upheld to the last moment the fallen cause of the rebels, or created rumors derogatory to the imperialists in the trying hours of the late insurrection.

But all these, annoying as they have been, simply amounted to threats and "bullying," and not to a declaration of war; nor, indeed, have they helped the consummation of the latent object—to force the whole country open, while perpetually retaining "the extra-territorial jurisdiction;" while on the contrary we have been more fully convinced than ever how dangerous it is to open our country a step further without our laws being obeyed by foreigners.

How long must Japan be compelled to withhold all its privileges from foreign people? New Japan does not wish to perpetuate this sort of unnatural intercourse with other nations. She is perfectly ready to-day to open her heart to all who will abide by her laws! It is almost needless to point out that the speedy arrangement to open the whole country on the one side, and to abide by the laws of Japan on the other, cannot fail to be of vast advantage to both. There has been on the part of our foreign friends, it is true, a feeling of reluctance to give up the right of "the extra-territorial jurisdiction," while assuming an attitude demanding that the whole country should be opened to foreign commerce, and all the while knowing so well that the "unexpected loss" to Japan, arising out of the very "odious provision"—"the extra-territorial jurisdiction clause"—has been incommensurate with their "anticipated advantage" from a wider field of investment. But they should in justice to themselves, as well as to us, remember that, "if one or other of the contracting parties must sacrifice a right, it will be a less violation of equity that the one should forego an anticipated advantage than that the other should suffer an unexpected loss. It is the famous distinction between '*de lucro captando et de damo vitando;*'" and we do not intend to demand this much either. What we want is simply a fair exchange and nothing more! Fair-play is the fundamental principle of human association, and mutual advantage, in matters of commerce, is its own mother. In the absence of these, the association must of necessity decline, and the commerce perish.

I cannot help expressing my wonder that our foreign friends, with their keen intelligence, will not see that Japan cannot, under

any circumstances, open itself entirely until the "odious provision" is given up, and that the advantages which may accrue to them, from a much wider investment of their capital and labor, clearly outweigh the supposed importance of the "extra-territorial jurisdiction."

It is true that there have been some enterprising merchants who heartily desired the adoption of this arrangement; even some of the representatives entertained the same view. But a few powers combined, worked hard, and defeated its consummation. Such powers seem, indeed, to have misguided, instead of leading aright, their own people; and such effort cannot fail to be prejudicial to all amicable understanding, inasmuch as it would seem to "be contrary to morality for nations to combine for the purpose of retarding the innocent growth of the power of a state."

Referring to the figures which have already been presented in this paper, we reach the conclusion that the "Tariff Convention" has not proved to be beneficial to a majority of the treaty powers—notably to the United States—and that Great Britain has been the principal gainer. The reason is too apparent to require any expatiation. In short, so far as the trade of Japan is concerned, England has the entire monopoly; and yet, for reasons quite incomprehensible to us, and perhaps equally so to themselves, some other powers seem to be inclined to support the views inculcated by the English school, in favor of perpetuating the "Tariff Convention." By so doing they are unwittingly helping, I fear, British trade to the detriment of Japan, while not benefiting their own interest. They all, even England, must remember the fact that no country has ever existed which could continually buy more than she had to sell, in one form or other, and that "it is not wise to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs."

The very country whose representative in Japan has been so notorious in preaching the doctrine of coercion and "coöperation," and availed himself of every opportunity to obtain additional concessions from us, in all matters whatever, has, both morally and commercially speaking, gained no more than she might have expected by the opposite policy. We do not mean to insinuate a doubt as to the patriotic intention and earnestness

of the agent, but we do greatly doubt whether he is conversant with the sentiment of the better classes at home; and we doubt whether he is capable of foreseeing that his course will prove to be, and is already beginning to be demonstrated as, directly inimical to the interests of his country. It would seem to be an essential requirement of this agent in the East to so conduct himself as to make the people actually hate the English. If not so, we fail to comprehend why England does not send an agent to Japan who will truly represent that great power; for surely gentlemen endowed with a sense of decency, and mindful of diplomatic courtesies, are not scarce in England!

During the last eight years the aggregate amount of our trade has not greatly increased, nor has the trade with Great Britain, to the extent that was anticipated. And surely even the full aggregate cannot be taken as the ultimate capacity of Japan for foreign trade. Our empire has more than thirty-four millions of souls; they must eat and drink, to live; they must clothe themselves; nor are they incapable of studying comfort, and of adopting a more luxurious mode of living; they too, like other nationalities, have a taste for foreign articles, from the shoe to the hat, from the needle to "iron telegraph-posts." All this means foreign trade. But wherewith can they buy when competed with by foreign traders under peculiar advantages, and their "fabrics are supplanted" and ultimately ruined? It is self-evident that if the aggregate amount of our foreign trade were increased, under the yoke of the "Tariff Convention," it only indicates the drain of our capital, not accumulated wealth. We are now perfectly aware of that, and without a change we must follow the footsteps of nations that have been ruined by similar circumstances. Hence the contraction of foreign trade must necessarily follow—*a loss to foreign merchants as well as to Japan.*

By way of proving that the line of thought I have been pursuing is not unreasonable, I would now direct the attention of my reader to a certain occurrence of the present summer. I allude to what the *Tokio Times* has denominated "*dirty diplomacy.*" In one of the Yokohama "organs" appeared the assertion that the Government had submitted to the foreign powers a schedule of customs tariff, as a basis upon which it was willing to

negotiate a new commercial treaty. Contrary as was this idea to all the usages of honorable diplomacy, all those organs which speak as one man, if not *for* one man, expressed their satisfaction with the scheme, and manifested an unusual lot of solemn hilarity. It so happened, however, that, within one week after the alleged facts had been promulgated, the *Tokio Times* and the Japanese papers exposed this "dirty diplomacy." The whole story was denounced upon authority as utterly false, and was proved to be a most dishonorable and unwarrantable proceeding; and a demand was made upon the Government to investigate the whole business, and place the odium where it belonged. That any of the Continental powers of Europe had been connected with this diplomatic outrage was not believed by any intelligent Japanese, while the zeal of those "organs," and various other transactions that have hitherto taken place in our empire, inclined public opinion to settle upon a very decided conclusion. As the *Tokio Times* has very justly remarked, it was "an intrigue set on foot for the purpose of placing Japan in a false position, and surrounding her with embarrassments from which, in the opinion of those who are interested, she may find it easier to extricate herself by a new abandonment of principle, than by boldly proclaiming and defending her prerogatives."

But before this story of diplomatic treachery had been fully exploded, the same distinguished actor made his appearance in a new but characteristic part. When our authorities were about to establish quarantine regulations for the benefit of the whole empire—lo and behold! we find this man declaring his right to a voice in framing them. Being, of course, refused this right, he "threatened defiance, in case an attempt is made to execute them, and he has more than hinted at employing force, in an extremity, to enable ships sailing under his flag to violate the precautionary enactments of this empire."

It was this same man who, some twenty years ago, when holding the office of consul, "contrived to drag his country into an unrighteous war with China, and committed such an outrage in China that he was severely condemned by the Parliament; "and, of the affair in which he then distinguished himself, Lord Elgin wrote from Hong-Kong, declaring it 'a scandal to us and so considered by all except the few who are personally compromised.'

'Nothing could be more contemptible than the cause of our existing quarrel.'" And now he would, forsooth, throw the harbors of Japan open to pestilence—"all and again for trade." As I recall some of the wayside incidents of that empire's history, I am forced to inquire "How long, O Lord! are these tyrannies to endure?" So grasping has that insular empire been in the past, that she has not spared even her own colonies. It was a quarrel about tea which brought on the American Revolution, and compelled a faithful child to cast off an unkind and selfish parent, which event, however, resulted in the birth of the "Great Republic." Read the story of India, and see how war and famine have overrun that great garden of the world—crushing millions of human hearts into the dust, and all for the sole purposes of acquiring something and creating an "Empress of India." Think also of China, and realize, if possible, the character of that policy which permits a Christian nation to force upon a heathen empire a sufficient amount of opium to give her a revenue of nearly sixty million dollars. Look also at Canada, and witness how that colony is really kept in poverty by the lovingkindness of the mother-empire! Read also the latest proceedings of the Australian Parliament, and take in the idea that, while that colony would fain institute the doctrine of protection for her own welfare, the ruling empire would say, "No, you should not interfere with the trade of the mother-empire!" And coming down to the present hour, witness the result of England's long-continued sympathy for "poor, oppressed Turkey," by which Cyprus becomes her possession and Asiatic Turkey virtually her protectorate. All this I know is very jolly for, as the Americans would say, the great "Bulldozer" of Europe; but are these things to continue forever? Possibly they may—but a voice from New Japan very decidedly, and once for all, declares this is impossible—so far as her national interests are concerned.

MATSUYAMA MAKOTO.

TOKIO, JAPAN, *August*, 1878.

V.

THE FINANCIAL RESOURCES OF NEW YORK.

More direct executive power and responsibility are needed in city administration to relieve its financial burdens and sustain the property which bears them. An examination of its different business interests will disclose modes of enlarging the amount of property on which its taxes are imposed, and will discover unexplored sources of city revenue.

Three casual expressions attributed to Mr. Tweed, illustrated by his brief political history, indicate his theory of administration. The first was, "The way to have power is to take it;" the second, "He is human;" and the third, "What are you going to do about it?" In his career was exhibited the despotic phase of municipal administration. He got for himself and his associates offices, one after the other, by taking them with or without right, until he held the power of the State, and then fortified his position by enacting appropriate laws. His means of doing this was to approach men through their self-interests, and to buy their support by promises, offices, and money. His appreciation of this trait in the character of the men about him was expressed in his belief that they were "human." The arrogance of the full possession of power and the defiance against the remonstrances of honest men drove him to the extreme of audacity, "What are you going to do about it?" which preceded his fall.

There was no greater popular mistake than to call Mr. Tweed and his associates a "ring." They were so at the outset by the "cohesive power of public plunder," but, once in possession, like a crew of pirates who had gained the deck of a prize, they became arrayed against each other. If they had been a ring, their compactness of purpose might have constituted a government, but they had so little hold upon or confidence in each other that they dissolved at the first shock. The effort was then made by Mr.

Tilden and Mr. O'Conor to take possession of the municipal administration. There were days when this was nearly accomplished, and the word of a man or a single event would have changed the whole situation. It was an attempt on the part of the ablest and purest men, who had the power and the patriotism, to make a peaceable revolution at a single stroke. If they had succeeded, for once in the history of the city of New York the best citizens would have been at the head, and thorough reform in organization and administration would have been certain. But legal forms and official delays furnished a line of breastworks behind which shelter was found, so that the positions were taken only one by one, through a long line of litigations full of disappointments and fruitless of great results, and the city administration rested upon the physical and mental obesity of Mr. Havemeyer.

Thus, within a brief period, the difficulties of the problem of municipal administration in this city have received three illustrations: first, a successful despotic power, capable but corrupt; secondly, an unsuccessful attempt by the best men to take the lead; and, thirdly, a subsidence into a government of the people, of good purposes and low grade. These illustrations complete the circle. To-day the government is of the third class. An honest leader has unequal followers. It has the force and the weakness of a compact party organization, but fails to present or to carry out measures adequate to relieve the burdens of the people and provide for their prosperity.

We vibrate to-day between two principles which are as old as society itself—the absolute power of a leader and the reaction from his abuse of power to the attempt of the people to govern themselves. History presents transitions from one to the other of these forms, with various intermediate stages. The solution of the problem is to put and keep the best men at the head, and the inability to reach it in any case is because the people do not easily recognize and adhere to their best men. These bare lines of the question are visible through all the discussions. Under a heterogeneous system of ancient and constitutional rights and of laws of excessive complication and contradiction, the general dissatisfaction incites efforts in three directions: a despairing cry for a leader; the relegation of the government to the mass of the people and demagogism; and between them to make a legal

machine which shall grind out good government and reject all evils. This attempt at the impracticable has made our problem of municipal government the hardest of all the problems of state.

The despairing cry for a true leader is based on aspects of imperial government in Europe which show admirable examples of ability and success. It is an instinct of human nature, but it is revolutionary. In Rome it was the election of a dictator. In France, where Guizot has described the government as "the principle of despotism, checked by the right of insurrection," it was a mad revolution. In this country, it was the wild cry in the first dark week of the rebellion for George Law; and to-day it is the demand for a receiver of the city, as if it were an insolvent railroad company. Talleyrand concentrated it in a sentence: "What principles cannot do, a man must; when society cannot organize a government, a government must create society." The principle has been called divine. We need not doubt the result if a wise and good man had power to organize a government here, but we know as well that it is not the way.

The extreme alternative of a government by the people through such representatives as they select is disheartening. It has proved a failure to this hour. It has produced the evils which have accumulated into a crushing weight, an increase of debt, a load of taxation, a waste of resources, the destruction of business, the depletion of life, and maladministration and extravagance in every direction, with men in power who look blankly at the situation without the ability to make an effort to relieve it. This is the direct work of the people, for it is by their votes that the men who have done it have gained the power. The result is their condemnation, and there is no answer to it. They are guilty, for they have been fed with patronage and places, and with the profits of the public expenditure. The system is fatal, for it is the despotism of the people through bad men.

Between these extremes we have been vibrating, and have fallen into legal machinery. An appeal to the Legislature of the State introduced the system of commissions. The departments of city administration were some of them placed under boards of several commissioners. It divided power between the two political parties; it introduced bargaining; it destroyed efficiency; it stood between the agent and responsibility. Like all

foreign domination, it became tyrannical. It led to a complicated system of checks to the exercise of administrative power in every direction. The lack of power in an officer to do what he would, the necessity of a concurrence which was impracticable, produced a situation of inefficiency for which no one was responsible. No amount of machinery will compensate for the lack of an engineer, and with a poor one the machine stops working from its own friction. To expect an able administration from legislative manufacture alone is to ask it to produce what it does not contain. If the man able to devise the best measures were in power, he could not execute them.

We are all familiar with the formula that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." Goethe says: "If you want anything in this world, put forth your hand and take it; all you have to do is to pay the price." Power in the people by direct representation and intelligent and eternal vigilance over its exercise is a simple and the single principle; but the subjects and functions of administration are multifarious, cross-woven, and incomprehensible, direct executive power is impeded, and the people cannot find the single point on which their vigilance and force can be concentrated with effect. The habit of depreciating and maligning public men blinds the people in their search for their best men; they are slow to recognize them when they do appear; and, politically, men become valuable for negative qualities. What is needed is more direct executive power and responsibility, and at the elections a crisis where every one may see that the result can be reached, and at one stroke. It would be effective and at the same time be in order. Men would cease looking to Albany. It would be opportune then to discuss the situation of the city and modes of relief. The influence of the press would be felt. An incapable officer would face the only light he feared. It would be the concentration with effect, on men and measures, of vigilant public opinion, the greatest and only political force in the country.

The city of New York has passed through a long period of depression, and rests now at the bottom. Its need is an able man as mayor with power to work out affirmative measures of relief for the future prosperity of the city, and with direct responsibility. The financial difficulties of the city and its unexplored re-

sources are deplorable enough to be saved from the indifference with which they are now treated. It is loaded with a great debt, for part of which it received no benefit. It bears heavy annual taxes to meet the interest on that debt, its proportion of the State taxes, and its own municipal expenditure. The real estate, upon which it imposes four-fifths of its taxation, is burdened with heavy assessments for premature improvements, and suffers a double taxation by the taxes on mortgages. Its commerce needs large expenditure for improved terminal facilities. Its banks, which represent its life-blood, suffer from unequal taxation. Its population and natural increase of wealth have for fifteen years been diverted into its suburbs beyond its taxation, and it invites further depletion by a large expenditure upon public works against its interest. Its municipal expenditure is heavy, and its actual and possible resources are greatly neglected.

The interest paid on the city debt has been fixed at a high rate, far beyond the average of interest paid by a public borrower of such unquestioned resources. The worst injury in the theft of city money by the ring was that it was borrowed for long periods at high rates of interest, so that the stolen money will be paid three times over. This portion of the debt may be beyond reach, but the consolidation of the residue at low rates is an obvious measure which has received official attention. The amount paid by the city for State taxes is greater than its proportion of the total wealth or population of the State. Its valuations of property approach more nearly the market-value than the valuations of other counties. But, the greater the proportion of the State tax thrown upon this city, the greater the relief to the rest of the State. The argument made to the justice of the State is an argument against their interest. To support these arguments so as to command attention is one of the imperative duties toward which the whole power and public opinion of the city should be directed. The city expenditures have been greatly reduced within the past few years, even to the extent of so wearing and wasting the city property as to require larger expenditure in the future. But the results show that extreme economy and retrenchment are wholly inadequate for financial relief, and that recourse must be had to the unexplored resources of the city.

The leading effect of the hard times, aided by the policy

of city administration, has been to depress the property which bears the burden of the taxes. It was an inevitable retribution. For the large public debt the city has a few creditable works—the Croton aqueduct and reservoirs, the public parks, a few public buildings, a beginning of public docks. If the residue of the debt, beyond the sum which these works have cost, had been expended or were now to be laid out in such other works as would render the city more attractive and finished for an incoming population, and facilitate its business interests, it can readily be seen how great the city would become. It is because there is so little to show for it, when so much was needed, that the debt is so burdensome. It was not well invested.

Twelve years ago, at the close of the rebellion, the city was emerging from a period of great depression into one of high inflation. At such eras the streams of population, business enterprise, and wealth, flow toward cities. It was anticipated that this natural accretion would settle within its own borders, and preparations were made to bring the region below and abreast of the Central Park into condition for immediate occupation, but these calculations were disappointed. Rapid transit, which was needed to reach regions so remote from the business centres, had been omitted from the plan. It entered upon its decade of discussion and controversy. In other directions, outside the city borders, people had more forethought, and the larger portion of the growth due to the city was diverted to Brooklyn and New Jersey, which by steam ferries and railroads were brought in time nearer to the City Hall than some of its own suburbs. Still the preparation of its own up-town areas went on in the most extravagant manner. A rough, rocky, elevated, and in part precipitous region had been subjected to the plan of rectangular and parallel streets and avenues, and level grades, without regard to the different kinds of ultimate occupation. Full power over the region was given to a city department, but the old plan was retained. Conceived without forethought of its necessary conditions, this plan was executed without calculation of its cost. The notable extravagance of the Court-house was matched by miles of boulevards up-town, costing three-quarters of a million, some a million, dollars the mile. The assessments for such improvements burdened the property in that region, within a period of ten years, with a load equal to ten mill-

ion dollars a square mile, a sum sufficient to cover the land with average buildings. These proceedings were fatal. The land has fallen to a price less than the assessments and taxes. The owners have disappeared. The growth of the city has stopped. The middle class, who live between Murray Hill and a tenement-house, have in great numbers been driven from the city. The mechanics and laborers employed upon these street improvements and house-building have been forced into idleness. The same things are true of the other regions of the city. The real estate on which the city imposes and from which it derives the greater portion of its taxes has been crushed, its future power of paying taxes and meeting the debt has been impaired, and the burden on improved property down-town is not lightened, as it might have been, by having the up-town regions built up and taxed as houses and lots, and not as vacant lots. The forty million dollars which have been expended by the city and property owners on the unoccupied regions of this island, north of Fifty-ninth Street, lie there as dead and idle capital. To make it attractive to the next inflow of population, to gather there portly tax-payers, to cover it with residences and places of business, to make this dead capital active, will broaden and double the property from which the taxes are gathered, and thus will diminish the burden. Measures tending to develop this resource of the city deserve attention.

A survey of the various business interests of the city may suggest some affirmative measures which will tend to restore prosperity and lead to the discovery of its unexplored resources.

The growth and prosperity of New York depend upon two general causes: first, its relations to the general commerce of the world; secondly, its attractions as a place of residence. London illustrates the effects of the former, Paris of the latter. New York can combine them both. Its natural advantages for gathering population by attracting residents are as matchless as its commercial advantages. Its population depends on its business prosperity. This prosperity is secured when all its citizens are engaged in profitable and productive labor. At the present time a large proportion of its labor-power is idle and wasted. The fields of labor are threefold: 1. That connected with its commercial business; 2. That connected with its manufacturing business; 3.

That connected with house-building and the preparation of its vacant areas by street and other improvements for building. Employment for this labor should not be forced, but obstacles may be taken out of the way. Primal causes of national prosperity, such as the quantity of natural products, the freedom of trade, and the purity of money, on which local prosperity depends, are not now under review.

The interests of the city as a great centre of foreign and internal commerce are subordinated to the interests of the whole country, and the legislation of the United States may be, and at times is, antagonistic to the interests of the city. It was freedom and independence in this respect that caused the great growth of the free cities of Europe three and four centuries ago. New York must contend, by the power of its representatives in Congress, to advance such mature views as will destroy this antagonism, by the demonstration that the interests of all are alike. The vital point upon which the city government can act directly is the increase of terminal facilities, by which the railroad-car can be brought alongside the vessel, and internal distribution be effected by steam. New York must connect and not break transportation; the development of the elevated railroads will effect it. It would be a work for the Dock Department more important for the interests of the city than a reconstruction in iron and stone of the wooden piers, sheds, and bulkheads, without any advance in design. The rivalry of other cities places the merchants of New York under great disadvantages for want of this close connection in the transfer and distribution of goods. They are left to their own unaided efforts. The whole power of the city government should be moved for them, and the city itself should derive an income for the privileges it grants.

But it is quite as important to encourage the manufacturing interests of the city, to facilitate those now established, and to bring in new ones. They require short and cheap transportation and facilities for the receipt and delivery of raw materials and finished goods, cheap houses and living for their operatives, and low taxation. Low-priced lands in the central portions of the city and land along elevated railroads, unfitted for residences, will fall more and more into this use, to its great profit. The region of which the Third Avenue bridge over the Harlem River

is the centre, with proper modes of connecting the factory, the railroad, and the steamer, may become the best site on this continent for manufacturing enterprise. The opening of Hell Gate now in progress and the proposed improvement of the Harlem River will contribute to the result. The new plans for laying out the district to the north have been adapted to it. The improvement of this region to this end is a most important city work, and should not be neglected an hour. To make it the centre of a great manufacturing business, as can be done, will largely increase business, population, and wealth, and broaden the basis on which the taxes are raised, and toward this result the action of the city should be immediate.

The plan on which the city was laid out below One Hundred and Fifty-fifth Street had this excuse, that there was in 1813 little topographical science, and few examples of the modern growth of cities now displayed everywhere; but that excuse is not available to the men who had the area west of the Central Park to lay out in 1867, and who adhered to the old plan. The unit of a city lot, twenty-five feet by one hundred, in blocks two hundred feet wide, has been disastrous to the interests of the city. It was assumed to be the finality of human wisdom, whatever the topography, whatever the occupation, best alike for a palace and a tenement-house, a cathedral or a music-hall, a foundery or a lumber-yard. It has in fact excluded all great business enterprises which require unusual facilities or broader area. They, with all the advantages which follow their location, must go elsewhere; and if one attempts it, as the Hudson River Railroad elevators and yards at Sixtieth Street, it only succeeds by the paramount right of eminent domain. The city should have power, and should exercise it freely, to obliterate and rearrange streets and avenues along its borders for factory and great establishments, and not present its gridiron plan as a Procrustean bed.

The enlargement, among the laborers, of the class of artisans and skilled workmen, by the decrease of the common and unskilled, is equally important. New York, like Paris, should be a place for the introduction of every new branch of light manufacture, art, or artisan-work. Here should be found the most skillful workmen, and here their best means of instruction. The Cooper Union is one of the noblest monuments in the

city; there should be others like it. If Mr. Stewart had risen above the bread-and-butter level of feeding and lodging a few hundred young women, and founded a school, in a building whose store-rents would have supported it, where all women could have found the best instruction, through the whole range of occupations by which they earn their livings, from domestic service to art, from the quality of goods in a fancy-store to book-keeping, thousands every year would have been helped by it to independence. He would have been immortalized by the blessings of those whose blessings are worth the most. His project was an affront to human nature and to society. The unit of society is the family. The safeguard of society is in the women. The character of its young women is the character of any civilization; their protection is in a home. To take them away from home and offer them food and lodging was an offense. The project was impracticable, and it is to their honor and the honor of the city that the failure was so prompt and emphatic. If his noble purpose had been wisely directed, and every young woman who earned her living had found the school which they all seek, for the best practical instruction in the work she followed, the benefits to them and to the city, as the place for the finest work of the most skillful hands, would have been incalculable. He has left this path open.

The unexampled growth of the city in years past has made house-building and street improvements one of the principal modes of employment, and has accumulated here great numbers engaged on that kind of work. They have become immovable, and their enforced idleness is a great disaster and obstruction to the prosperity of the city. These laborers are of two classes, a part mechanics, and the rest common laborers; the latter class is enlarged in hard times by the accession of the inefficient and unemployed from all other classes. These men find employment when real estate is prosperous; in its depression and by the cessation of public works, they are left destitute. The demand for houses gives them employment. If such a time is approaching, some preparation for it by undertaking works of unquestioned advantage is proper.

Two general questions are now reached: What measures, safe, prudent, and moderate, will enlarge the amount of property

on which the taxes are raised, and what new sources of city revenue can be pointed out?

An increase of revenue will produce a diminution of annual taxes, or an addition to the sinking fund for the payment of the principal of the debt. The enlargement of the taxable valuations of property will bring us to raising $30,000,000 a year on fifteen hundred or two thousand millions of property, instead of eleven hundred millions. If the city held under its own taxation the taxable wealth by which New Jersey, within twenty-five miles of the city, and Brooklyn, have grown since the rebellion, the taxes would now be raised on fifteen hundred instead of on eleven hundred millions, and this would reduce the rate of taxation for 1878 from 2.55 to 1.94 per cent. If necessary and advantageous works were in progress, they would give employment to laborers who would be supported by their profitable labor, and not as they now are, without labor, and the essential condition of prosperity would be met. The elevated railroads and the opening of Hell Gate are examples of such works.

Paris is, rather than any other European city, the model for New York. It suffered under Baron Haussmann a great activity in the production of new boulevards and public works, and a great increase of the public debt. Under the siege it suffered as much as New York has by its depression of values and of business, yet it has recovered almost wholly, and has a city revenue which meets nearly all its annual expenditure of $50,000,000 for city purposes. The example will be found to present official intelligence, vigor, and responsibility, and pronounced methods of finance and administration.

There has been for five years past a strong public opinion adverse to any public works. It has resulted in their general discontinuance; yet it has remained true all the time that, if money had been borrowed at the low prevalent rates of interest, and had been expended judiciously in necessary works at the unexampled low prices for materials and labor, the results would have been great. The public judgment has not been exercised with this aspect of the question, it has been overcome with the single necessity of stopping expenditure. This is evident from the general interest taken in such works as the elevated railroads, and the improvement of Harlem River and Hell Gate. These the city

does not pay for, and they do not increase either the city's debt or taxation. They are works which it is profitable to construct. This is demonstrated when these works are looked at in the light of their necessity to the growth of the city. There is dawning a general belief in a return of prosperity to the city. It is as inevitable as the return of the tides. The low prices of land and of building-materials will attract settlement, just as in years gone by high prices have repelled it. Starting from a basis of exceedingly low prices, every condition will be favorable to gathering here the natural growth which will belong to incoming years, not of speculative but of actual prosperity. The revival of trade will again cause the concentration of population in cities, labor will be again drawn from production to the work of interchanges. When all are at work, prosperity will return. A natural growth which secures its own accretions for its own support, and for its own taxation, will soon diminish the relative burden of the debt. In fact, by its erroneous policy the city has been supporting its neighbors. It has sent its citizens who labor and make money here into the neighboring places to live and to support their taxation. A slight change of policy will bring back this wealth, will bring in new capital, and the city will have twice as many and twice as much to bear its burdens. The study of the lines and extent of probable growth and of the law of the valuation of land will be a guide to the class of improvements which it will be profitable to undertake.

In bringing into subjection new sources of city revenue, or in specific taxation, it is a controlling principle that it must not be imposed over so large a range of subjects or in such heavy amounts as to burden the business from which it arises. There are cases in which the benefits accruing to the citizens individually are more beneficial to the city, as in the cheap water-supply, than it would be to increase the revenue by doubling the tax. It should be laid on those sources only which are abundantly able to bear it, and not to an extent to abridge the benefit to the citizen. It should be supported on the clearest grounds of legal right and public policy. It should proceed with the growth of the city, and be derived from new improvements which bring in new benefits, rather than by increasing any existing burdens, and be limited with the strictest justice. The investigation of the vari-

ous unexplored sources in this city will involve a consideration of the general principles of taxation, and the true relations of labor and capital here, as well as the best plans and simplest modes of accomplishing it.

In 1825 the opening of the Erie Canal marked a period of great advance in the growth and prosperity of the city. In 1878 the establishment of rapid transit through and within its limits will make a like epoch. The elevated railroads should receive a consideration preliminary to the practical examination of the questions above stated. They will be found to have a vital bearing on each.

The routes laid down by the Rapid Transit Commissioners, under the law of 1875, were rudimentary. They overlooked or disregarded the conditions of the problem before them. It was not merely lines up and down town, with loops of connection at either end, but a system, that was needed. Terminal facilities, here as elsewhere, were as important as main lines. All external and internal centres and points of approach and departure should have been reached. In this respect there was a public opinion far in advance of them which they did not heed. The people did not want to travel on one line, but to reach without change their point of destination—a ferry, a steamboat-landing, or a depot; not one, but every one of them. The gap now between the Forty-second Street station of the New York Elevated Railway and the passenger entrances of the Grand Central Depot is as important to the traveler as the railroad itself. Close connection is imperative, but it was forgotten.

They overlooked, too, the law under which the growth of a city is determined by its railroad lines and stations. The Western country shows instances of the growth of a town around a railroad-station as an initial point; all occupation and improvement is adapted to it as a centre. At the East there are many towns which have changed their growth to a new centre at the station which was planted in the suburbs. This city will obey this law. Its various occupations and improvements will conform to its internal lines of transportation. Much of this is settling on lines which it will be expensive to change, and such disturbances might have been avoided.

The future uses of rapid transit are not limited to passenger-

traveling. Its adaptation to the uses which might have been provided for when the routes were laid out will be grafted on them at inconvenience and expense, and at fresh disturbance of the property interests, which adjust themselves to routes as they are opened. This disturbance has been a great obstacle to rapid transit through all its history. The unforeseen uses and necessities are manifold. Connection must be made with all the ferries and steamboat-landings at the lower end of the city. There was a great opportunity for forethought in providing a common southern terminus at the South Ferry, with a pier for general river departure. A river border-line, from Canal Street on the Hudson River to James Street on the East, and at those streets connecting with the main lines, would touch all the principal points in present use. Passengers should be landed and received from the elevated cars at the second story of the ferry and steamboat landings. The rest of the river border would soon demand the same conveniences. At the northern end of the island the various residence sections should be made accessible. In the new surveys of the Park Department these requirements were met in advance by laying out, in the district north of the Harlem River, a connecting series of distinct railroad avenues, which crossed the other streets and avenues at an under or over grade, and reached all sections. When the elevated roads reach the Harlem River, the ways for making the district north of it accessible are ready for them. Besides carrying passengers, these elevated roads must prepare to transport baggage, and do all the internal parcel-delivery of the city. By night they must do the business of moving freight from the freight-car to the vessel at the water-side; freight-depots and open spaces like the down-town squares must be provided for it. They must engage in the business of receiving market-supplies, such as every night gather at Fulton and Washington Markets, and delivering them to those or to new places of distribution. They must also be prepared to remove at night the accumulations of street-sweepings by day to fit places of final deposit. The people of this city are the only million in the country who have been denied the privilege of transportation by steam. They will enjoy what they have now, and ask for more. All this business will press upon the elevated railroad companies in time; new

companies and forms of enterprise adapted to the business will be formed in connection with the roads. If these uses had been foreseen, the routes might have been laid out to meet all these future requirements; as it is, they will be reached with great loss of time, by force of popular pressure, not for the interests of the people, but wrested from the rivalry of the railroad corporations, and amid great conflict and disturbance of property interests.

It is obvious that these railroads will grow to great power, great influence, and great profit. This profit should have been brought under a fair city taxation. It could have been done in advance, as a condition of the grant, on a just basis: it can be required now as the condition of inevitable future privileges. The city has a right to a portion of the profits, as a license fee or compensation for the grants by the city. This can be supported on sound principles of law and public policy. Through all the different cases of title to the bed of a street, in respect to the city and the adjacent owner, varying according to the origin of the street, it is generally true that all rights of ownership are in the city for the public use, and that the adjacent owner has none. The growth of a street shows that it is improved at the expense of the adjacent owners, for the public use, and that this extends to new and unforeseen uses. In a new settlement, the rudimentary street is a path between the first two houses for their occupants; new-comers assume the same rights, and the street is open to the public; at the demands of increased population and travel it is adapted to it, with sidewalks and paved carriageways; it is curbed, lighted, sewered, and repaved with better material; at the same demand rails are laid upon it for a new use—the street-cars—and again, posts are erected upon it for the support of another unforeseen use—the elevated steam railroad. The rights of the adjacent owners in a road-bed which has been improved in great part at their expense have passed to the city for the public use, and then for a mixed public and private use—railroads—which serve the public and enrich their owners. Toward this use the city has contributed a graded right of way, on which the company have erected their road-structure. The company, by their issue of bonds and stocks, declare that their property is worth, per mile, several times more than the cost of the road-structure they have erected; that is, that their franchise,

including what the city has contributed, is worth the difference between their actual cost of construction and the larger amount of bonds and stock which they have issued. This furnishes an indisputable ground and reason why the city should receive payment for its contribution, and why the company should pay, annually, a rent or compensation to the city for the use of the graded road-bed. These relations have grown up and been established by public policy and the decisions of the courts of last resort, and the obligation as certainly follows them.

The beneficial results of rapid transit are scarcely anticipated. It will counteract the depletion of the taxable wealth and population belonging to this city into Brooklyn and New Jersey, which has been going on for more than fifteen years, because of low ferriage, good railroads with low commutation, and the prospect of the Brooklyn Bridge. It will gather the next accretions of property and population within the city limits, and under its taxation. It will equalize values through the length of the city; it will relieve taxation on real estate down-town by having the taxation up-town imposed, not on vacant lots, but on houses and lots; it will increase the advantages of the city as the location for all kinds of manufacturing business; it will expedite these effects. Opened at a time when vacant land up-town is at very low prices, it will stimulate the erection of a large number of low-cost dwellings to meet a demand, on the first revival of business, for single houses by the families now doubled up in houses in the lower part of the city, the mere outburst of whom from such constraint will create a demand for such dwellings before there is any increase of population; it will create a new city abreast of the Park, with advantages and adaptations for health, elegance, and economy, to which the people are now strangers. All the business of the city will adjust itself to these new lines. To some the transition will be burdensome. No existing state of things at any date is a finality; the law is constant change and growth of the whole. The city has seen many such changes from residence to business through whole sections, and, after the temporary disturbance is over, values have been increased; on the railroad avenues this increase will be greatly augmented by the gathering of population along their upper borders, who will travel and trade upon the avenues. They will have the benefit of this

law of high values, that the greatest value follows the greatest travel. Broadway, below Fourteenth Street, furnishes an illustration. The effort, in the earlier days of rapid transit, was to concentrate travel by surface and underground roads on Broadway. It was successfully resisted by the owners, who now see the high values, which gave it its character, transferred to its upper length, above Fourteenth Street, where there is a railroad, and distributed among the other avenues. The operation of this law, and there is no other, will ultimately give very high value to the Third and Sixth Avenues. The public attention is now engrossed by the minor annoyances, and their judgment has been affected by them; but minor advantages and disadvantages compensate and balance each other, and will cease to be heard of when the return of better times fixes these railroad avenues as the best business streets of the city.

These companies are destined to possess high power and influence in the city, and they should have been harnessed in to do some of its work and sustain some of its burdens. It would come in the shape of annual rent and rent service. The payment of money can be best computed as a percentage on their gross receipts, to be paid periodically into the city treasury. There are not data enough at present to calculate the product of a percentage; but, if, on the receipts which have been publicly anticipated and reported, a just percentage were secured as an addition to the sinking-fund, it would go far toward liquidating the debt before its maturity, and it would, by the certainty of such a future provision, relieve at once the weight of the burden. By the misapplication of its funds the city has incurred a great debt, without any public work or improvement commensurate for it, and it would be a wise husbanding of its resources if, by another public work of great profit and utility, toward the construction of which the city had contributed the greater proportion, provision could be made, on just principles, for the final extinguishment of the debt. These elevated railroads will ultimately dominate the city; they ought now to be bound to its service.

William R. Martin.

VI.

THE PUBLIC HEALTH.

The public care of health is no longer exclusively the concern of medical men and sanitary officers. The people generally are inquiring into the nature of those sanitary duties by which diseases are prevented and the health of families and communities promoted and protected. This growth of popular knowledge and interest in regard to sanitary duties is awakening just conceptions of responsibility, both in respect of the individual or family, and of the community, city, or State.

To all classes of people, though perhaps first to the municipal and State authorities, there is a practical lesson in the pestilence of yellow-fever now desolating the cities and towns of the Mississippi Valley. The paralysis of commercial interests in that vast region is felt far and wide, while millions of people, who remain unharmed by the epidemic, join with the Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce in pouring out abundant sympathy and benefactions for the sufferers. Contributions amounting to a million dollars, with materials for relief of every kind, have thus gone forward. But as soon as the pestilence ceases, and even now, will the people ask, as our best hygienists have for years been urging, with reason, that the epidemic propagation of yellow-fever shall be prevented.

The health of cities and villages is found to be almost equivalent to a public assurance of their prosperity and good repute; and, whenever throughout the domain of a state or a nation the public health is generally good, the people will bravely surmount their common adversities in business or war. The health of the great cities also seems to comprehend in no small degree some of the most important social and political problems of the times; and, as municipal methods of government provide for more

effectual action in matters of sanitary police, as well as for more ample facilities and safeguards for health than can generally be supplied by the operation of sanitary law in hamlets and rural districts, there certainly are, in city life, some important counterbalances in favor of health. Even in London the average health of its more than three and a half millions is higher than in the marshy districts of Bedfordshire, or even in some of the open and prolific regions of East Yorkshire. The art of health in such a great city comprises many things that only the ablest sanitary engineering and supervision can secure. In our populous cities, hygiene and the officers of health prove their life-saving value by most convincing figures. New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, and Chicago, already illustrate the fact that, throughout the better portions of the dwelling-areas in our great cities, it is entirely practicable to secure facilities for healthy living which give a lower death-rate in such favored streets or districts than the suburban and rural hamlets suffer. Intelligent people are not slow to interpret such practical advantages of the care and provisions for the public health; hence they are urging the improvement of town-sites, and the introduction of ample supplies of pure water, the planting of parks, and the sewerage of streets.

In each of the great cities just mentioned, the healthy districts overlook other areas which are continually smitten with preventable sickness and mortality, and which are the hot-beds and even the breeding-places of epidemics, that waste the lives of dwellers therein, and seriously menace the inhabitants of neighboring healthful areas. Murray Hill, in the city of New York, is flanked by foul and crowded tenement-houses, and from the City Hall, the Academy of Music, or Stuyvesant Park, it is but a few hundred yards to the tenement rookeries in which constant sickness afflicts from ten to twenty in every hundred, and death takes from forty to sixty in every thousand of the inhabitants during the year. In like manner, in Boston, the mansions of health on Beacon Street look down—toward South Street—upon a dense mass of human wretchedness, in which the sickness and death-rates are enormous. Philadelphia has its "Alaska District," hard by the old Pennsylvania Hospital; and Baltimore has its Fell's Point, and "a little local grievance of its

own, called the Basin," the only spots in which yellow-fever ever has gained foothold in that city.

In our principal American cities the people have become sufficiently awakened to personal interests involved in public-health questions to sustain any reasonably good sanitary government. Even the miserable inhabitants of a thousand low cellars, emptied by sanitary orders in the city of New York, begin to imitate Octavia Hill's happy tenants, when they have reached decent quarters under such a gracious landlady as Mrs. Miles, who in this city is pursuing the same plan that Miss Hill adopted; and this practicability of both enforcing and inculcating sanitary duties in the great cities warrants more thorough endeavors for the public as well as proprietary care of the dwellings of the poor than have yet been undertaken. Thoughtful citizens, who consider the real sources of human misery and waste of life in the great cities, invoke the utmost efforts of the sanitary authorities to protect the tenement-classes against the perils of their crowded quarters. The State Board of Health of Massachusetts has exerted its influence in this direction for the benefit of the laboring and poor classes in that State; and in the city of New York the Association for improving the Condition of the Poor, under the leadership of Mr. Howard Potter, has recently taken the field of inquiry, among the twenty thousand tenement-houses, to affirm the advanced positions of philanthropic minds, and to reassure the sanitary and police authorities in the duties which the laws impose on them for the public care of health.

The popular estimation of the importance of health was immensely increased during the late war in this country, and a like result has been witnessed in the European countries which have been testing their martial strength; yet the broader views of the practical importance of health to individuals, to families, and to a nation, must be toned and strengthened by the highest moral considerations. The wasting of human life by preventable disease implies far more important consequences, and quite different results, than those accepted by the Malthusians in their stoical dogmatism. The continued or frequent recurrence of pestilential epidemics, even the excessive death-rates, in any community or country, can properly be taken in evidence of the perilous presence of various conditions, both material and governmental or

social, which tend to the pauperizing, enfeebling, general harm, and decivilization, of the people. The empires of Great Britain and Germany have their chief strength, prosperity, and prospective permanence, in the vigor and soundness of the manhood of their populations; and though the astute Mr. Disraeli, when touching the English pulse on public-health questions, petulantly paraphrased his significant exclamation, "Sanitas sanitatum, omnia sanitas!" the feelings of the English people inspired the words of the statesman who has become their Beaconsfield.

The sanitation of great cities had been progressing many years before the general movement for the public care of health throughout the country began. The beneficent results of sanitary improvements under municipal authority have produced strong convictions in the popular mind in favor of extending the sanitary works and methods of cities far into the suburban and rural districts, offering to the entire population of the State the means of protection of the public health. In this view, the public care of health in cities has great importance and responsibility, for it bears the beacon-lights of hygiene to the whole country. Thus far the sanitary departments of municipal governments in America have not been organized upon a sufficiently broad and permanent basis to secure all the benefits sanitary science offers; but, such as they are, the benefits already secured are of inestimable importance, even in New York, where the social and political conditions have been most unfavorable for great gain to the general security of life and health. The evidence of such gain is abundantly exhibited in the last annual report of the Bureau of Vital Statistics of the Health Department in this city.

As the public care of health comprises chiefly those duties and methods of service for the sanitary welfare of the people which, in their individual capacity alone, would not be provided in any adequate manner, the whole subject of sanitary legislation and the sanitation of towns and cities, and of the highways and vehicles of commerce, becomes subordinate to the popular desire and ability to command the interposition and the sanction of obligatory statutes to provide for sanitary works and the skillful supervision of public-health duties. Though it is fortunately true that a great part of the public care of health, even in the enforcement of sanitary regulations and statutes, comprises various

kinds of special instruction to the persons and in the directions to which the requirements of the law are applied, there are numerous public-health duties that, for the welfare of the whole people, must be enforced and complied with in an absolute manner and with unquestioning promptness and obedience; while, on the other hand, there is a domain of personal and domestic hygiene which the statutes do not interfere with, and sanitary inspectors rarely attempt to invade. But it is a noticeable fact in the older historical records of governmental interference for protection against diseases, that the official decisions were more often absurdly empirical and arbitrary than reasonable and useful, and that the interference with persons and domiciles was accompanied with little or no instruction calculated to induce willing compliance with the physiological principles of hygiene. Every good medical officer of the public-health service, at the present day, recognizes the vital necessity of imparting personal instruction concerning all matters of private hygiene and domestic sanitation; while the public obligations for guarding and promoting the public health shall be enforced by the authority of law, as well as inculcated by explanations and arguments.

The authority which ordered and provided for the drainage of the Pontine marshes and enforced a thorough drain-flushing and sewerage for the Roman Coliseum was incapable of any control over merely personal sanitation; but the facilities for hygienic protection were publicly provided and guarded.

As science and social culture advance, the public service of hygiene is invoked more and more, until now there is evinced a general readiness and expectation, amounting to strong desire in many respects, for the interposition and provision by statutes and supervisory officials to secure the perfect cleansing and scavengering of all private premises, the ample conservation and distribution of the purest water, the safest and best means of lighting, the supply of perfect, and only perfect, food-materials, the public restraint of wanton vices, the limitation of child-labor at wages, and the prevention of cruelties and other wrongs to the health of young children, etc., etc. All this is occurring in our day as evidence of an advancing civilization; and perhaps there is nothing stronger and more significant in all this evidence than that the people are endeavoring more and more to avail themselves of such

important means of sanitary improvement and public-health care. Who would have believed, twenty or even fifteen years ago, that the city of New York would have accepted the vigilant system of sanitary supervision which is now enforced under that remarkably effective piece of legislation known as the Metropolitan Health Law; and who would have expected that the States of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Michigan, would have organized such efficient State Boards of Health as are now in operation? The popularization of physiological and sanitary knowledge and the inculcation of the duties of private hygiene have kept pace with the works of public sanitation and rendered practicable the operation of sanitary codes and the organization of sanitary duties.

Groaning under burdens of taxation for the support of all sorts of incapables and offenders, the American States were, until recently, following hard after the experiences of European countries; and now, in the great awakening of the people upon the subject of health, in individuals and families, in schools and in workshops, in our public men and in the masses, the first step is being taken toward a decrease in these great burdens—the loathsome dead-wood and sloughs of unhealthy elements of society.

The time seems to have arrived for revising some of the methods of the public care of health, and for extending such care and supervision sufficiently to serve the highest interests of the masses of city populations, and also to insure adequate sanitary protection to the domain of the individual States and of the nation. The first considerations which urge to such organization and enlargement of State and national care of the public health are, the purely material and commonplace requirements of personal and public safety and economy. There is no power or wealth that can safely take the hazards and fatal losses which individuals, communities, and States, incur when an infectious pestilence like yellow-fever or cholera, or a contagious and subtile malady like diphtheria, typhoid fever, or small-pox, invades a people. There is rarely any individual ability even to remove and prevent the miasmata and local sources of the worst of the lingering diseases that afflict hamlets and towns. Unfortunately, as local or town authority is usually organized and administered in the United States, it is poorly adapted—indeed, is hardly adaptable—to exer-

cise the functions of good sanitary government, so far as relates to any trustworthy measures for protecting the public health. This remark does not militate against the policy of local government, but it has reference to the fact that the specific, abundant, and ever-ready knowledge of the causation, habits, records, and course of preventable diseases, and of the best means of controlling and utterly preventing them, and of warding off and stamping out infectious pestilences when they menace any place, is seldom or never at hand in small communities, even in the villages and new cities. Central intelligence and a constantly-replenished source of information and counsel are essential means for securing adequate care of the public health, and such a central service in the State must ere long be regarded as an indispensable part of the government. The State Board of Health is quite an inexpensive body, and its utility is now well tested in fifteen States of the Union. The results, thus far, fully confirm the view we here express. In numerous instances, as in the States of Massachusetts, Michigan, and Wisconsin, the cash-value of the life and sickness-saving benefits to a single group of villages or a city has far exceeded the money expenditures of the State Board of Health for two years. The States of Louisiana and Tennessee failed to confer upon their Central Sanitary Boards any authority adapted to confront and repress the infectious factor of the cause of yellow-fever, or even to cleanse away and extinguish the local factors of the disease. The consequences—calamitous beyond description—cannot be expressed in numbers, nor estimated in millions of money. Unfortunately, the special plenary powers which the States have conferred upon town and parish officials to be exercised in the presence of infectious disease, have been, and most frequently are, so used as most perniciously to augment the popular panic, and increase rather than abate the most essential local causes of an epidemic visitation. The *cordon sanitaire* takes the place of sanitary cleansing and effectual disinfection, while the cordon itself becomes like a rope of sand—a fatal cheat and illusion.

We will not here attempt any discussion of the policy and practices of the quarantine and external sanitary police of maritime and other water-side towns. Municipal and town authorities manage this kind of sanitary service so badly that it will

soon have to be regulated directly under State authority, and upon a basis of national and international laws and sanctions. This subject is barely referred to in passing on to the questions relating to the organization of the public-health service of cities.

The doctrine of local government is probably as well illustrated in the chief cities of the United States as in any country. The last national census found three hundred and eleven cities and large towns which, at that time, had municipal forms of government, and then contained 8,452,315 inhabitants. Fifty of the cities contained 5,784,778 souls, or nearly twenty-two per cent. of the total population of the nation. In all excepting three or four of these cities, and in all the other municipalities and towns, the affairs of public-health care, and the sanitary ordinances and regulations, are found to have arranged themselves in various unsystematic ways, under certain general laws of the State and under an elected commonalty. The sanitary branch of the local government is mostly advisory and menial, the value and dignity of expert hygienic and engineering services being poorly recognized, except in the presence of pestilent epidemics. The writer recalls an instance of recent date, in which he was officially called to a neighboring small city, to determine the nature and source of a fatal filth-disease, which, in a single week, had destroyed thirteen lives, and created such panic that several of the dead lay unwashed and uncoffined for two days; but the municipal health-warden or inspector of the precinct was found to be an illiterate swineherd, who, with undertakers and nurses, had become panic-stricken, though the propagation of the malady was traced readily to a single public well, that received the soakage and outflowings of the unscavengered premises on the slope just back of it. This is one of the countless illustrations of the quality and value of the so-called sanitary branch of the local government in small municipalities and villages. Even in the city of New York, in 1865, just previous to the creation of the Metropolitan Sanitary Board, a health-warden testified, under oath, that hygiene and hygienics were the names of foul odors, and that camphor was the preventive to be employed for protection against small-pox!

The great efforts and personal sacrifices, in labors and tireless argument, by which the reformed sanitary government of this

metropolis was secured, may not be repeated in every city, though the beneficial results already, in twelve years' time, are greater than the founders of this sanitary system promised, and would be esteemed by themselves even far more important than their own lives and fortunes.

Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Cincinnati, Chicago, and the cities of the Mississippi Valley, have made important progress in the administration of an improved sanitary code; but in Boston, only, have the influence and authority of a State Board of Health been so allied with the work and purposes of the municipal sanitary authorities as to expel the nuisances from the populated districts. The new State Boards of Health in Rhode Island, Connecticut, Michigan, Illinois, and Tennessee, will find urgent reasons for imitating the good examples of that in Massachusetts. But it is to the honor of the leading citizens and public hygienists of the cities of Providence, New Haven, New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago, that, without permanent aid from the State authority, the works of sanitary improvement and the organization of skillful methods of public care of health have been well begun. This has been accomplished by the persistent support of sound public hygienists and the educated classes. The particular form of municipal sanitary government best adapted to our American cities may not be determined yet for some time. The municipal charters and codes are still unsettled, and the sanitary service is too frequently the foot-ball of partisan mayors and aldermen. The State Legislatures are disposed to encourage the doctrines of local government, yet partisan legislators studiously devise bad laws for building up partisan local authority. Hence we may reasonably hope for such a wholesome reaction in legislation as has at last given to the English local government scheme something like stability, and a non-partisan quality. The influences which bring about great reforms, and the permanent works of sanitary improvement, are not solely political. Notably this is true in England. Says the registrar-general, in his yearly report for London, dated May, 1878: "Since the cholera epidemic of 1849, the people themselves have become more alive to the necessity of taking an active part in carrying on the great work of town sanitation. Health-officers have been appointed; medical science has been called in, more comprehensive measures have

been adopted in connection with sanitary work, and the improvement that has already taken place in the health of the inhabitants of London indicates the measure of success that has attended these efforts. The soil has been drained, pure water supplied, rookeries that were so injurious to health have been removed, and the dwellings of the poor improved."

London, last year, in its estimated average population of 3,533,484 persons, had the remarkably low death-rate of only 21.9 in the 1,000. Justly may the English sanitarians point to the organized skill and efficiency of the Medical Officers of Health and the Sanitary Engineers of that vast city, and say that, if this is true of London, which has a mean altitude less than forty feet above high-tide mark, and a part of which is upon diked grounds, eleven feet lower than tide-level, then can the entire country be made healthful. This certainly is the conclusion of sanitary science; and, if it is not incorrect, the cities of Memphis, and Vicksburg, and Charleston, and Savannah, as well as New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago, will be made more healthful than the present average of the rural districts.

The means by which the best public care of health interests in our American cities may be attained are not yet established on a trustworthy basis of law. The Metropolitan Health Act of New York yet abides the tests of experience and of the courts; and it has served as a convenient model for recent sanitary legislation, and the organization of local boards of health in nearly a hundred other municipalities. Yet excellent as the provisions of this well-studied law are, the touchstone of their utility is in the faithfulness and competence of the officials who administer them.

The public health depends alike on personal hygiene and public sanitary works and services, and the latter duties are encouraged and cheerfully sustained just in proportion to the progress and enlargement of true physiological knowledge and means of personal and domestic health. Even the judicious and adequate adaptation of public measures for sanitary improvement or for protection against causes of disease, depends on correct knowledge of the laws of life and of the phenomena and facts of the natural world. A great interpreter of the science of physiology and hygiene has remarked that, "if we had a perfect knowledge of the laws of life, and could practically apply

this knowledge in a perfect system of hygienic rules, disease would be impossible; but at present disease exists in a thousand forms, and the human race languishes, and at times almost perishes, under the grievous yoke. . . . An accurate identification of the diseases is the first necessary step in the investigation of causes; . . . the causes being investigated, the art of hygiene then comes in to form rules which may prevent the causes, or render the frame fitted to bear them."

In this view of the field of hygienic inquiry and public duty with reference to the care of the sanitary interests of the people, it will justly be asked: "Do our medical officers of health pursue such inquiries? Do Boards of Health require and maintain these most essential researches into the physiological and phenomenal conditions of health and of the diseases?" To the credit of the State Boards of Health, and of the recognized leaders of public-health improvements in cities, the fact appears that this class of duties is not wholly neglected. It merits vastly greater attention, however, than it has hitherto received; for even now, when a terrible pestilence is walking in darkness and wasting at noonday throughout a vast region of our country, exceeding a thousand miles in length, the terror and perils from that epidemic are greatly augmented by the prevailing ignorance of its nature, causes, and laws. The late masterly chief medical officer of health under the Privy Council, Dr. John Simon, of England, advanced into this field of hygienic physiology with great effect, bringing the resources of exact science to the inquiries into the causation and prevention of the infectious fevers and deadly contagia, the course and causes of epidemics, the local causes and factors of pestilential outbreaks, the preventable causes of pulmonary tuberculosis, cancer, and diphtheria. The practical results of such investigations are of vital importance to public hygiene as well as to the art of personal health. All our researches lead to the conclusion, happily expressed by the most learned of hygienists, Dr. William Farr, of England: "The great source of the misery of mankind is not their numbers, but imperfections and the want of control over the conditions in which they live." Viewing the fields of sanitary investigation and public-health care in the light thus shed upon them by the ablest minds and best experience, the conclusion is that these fields become enlarged and more prolific as they are cultivated;

and that, as the popular knowledge of the conditions of healthy living and of the prevention of causes of disease becomes extended, the public health will receive greater care and protection by municipal and State provision and the highest resources of science; while hygiene, as at present taught, will become extended, and "the new biology will open fresh fields for research, and shed on them brighter lights." The problems of the public health now require that, by the municipal authority and all available agencies which the people can employ, the filth of towns and cities, and the "filth-diseases" and infections also, shall be controlled and their causes prevented by official supervision and interference; that epidemic and pestilential diseases, and all other causes of preventable sickness and mortality, shall be promptly investigated by expert hygienists under official sanctions; that the causes of mortality shall be accurately certified, after faithful verification, not only in cities, but in all places, and that the records of death shall be made under State authority, and be supplemented with careful sanitary investigations and records of prevailing diseases; that the sanitary protection of schools and public assemblages, of tenement populations and all congregate dwellings, and whatever general hygienic measures are required for the common welfare of the people, shall be under the most competent official supervision; that sanitary surveys, the systematic drainage for health, the supplying of pure water in abundance to cities and villages, the regulation of comprehensive measures of external sanitary police, and quarantine practice, shall receive all necessary aid and facilities by State and national laws —the legislation and practice in these branches of sanitary work and service being based on the fact that the laws of human life and health have no politico-geographical boundaries; and, especially, that sanitary knowledge and all the essential duties of civic and domestic hygiene should be popularly inculcated by all available means.

These are now the most essential points in the problems of public sanitation. In the dwelling, the hamlet, the city, the State, the nation, sanitary improvement depends upon the practical observance of Nature's laws. The protection of public health requires comprehensive and skillful methods of applying them.

ELISHA HARRIS.

VII.

PESSIMISM IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.*

We have ingenious and satisfactory methods of measuring the fall of the rain and the speed of the wind, the weight of the atmosphere and the temper of the weather and the blood, but we have no instrument or calculus for measuring the pains and pleasures of a human life or of a century. We have sufficient reason, indeed, for thinking that some lives are happier than others, and that some ages bear a whiter mark in history than the ages that are called dark; yet new developments are constantly disturbing old associations, and the last and greatest of our surprises comes from the dark views of our own proud nineteenth century which are taken by the most conspicuous and original school of philosophers of our time. The great word upon the lips of the people and their orators, and upon the pens of authors, whether poets, naturalists, moralists, or theologians, has been Progress; and it has been very pleasant to hear and to read how far we have distanced all previous ages in the keenness and sweep of our observations of Nature, the minuteness and power of our mechanism, the grasp and efficacy of our humanity, the light and vigor of our

* "Pessimism: A History and a Criticism." By James Sully, M. A., author of "Sensation and Intuition: Studies in Psychology and Æsthetics." London: Henry S. King & Co. 1877. 8vo, pp. xv.–477.

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"Gesammelte Studien und Aufsätze gemeinverständlichen Inhalts." Von Eduard von Hartmann. Berlin: Carl Duncker. 1876. 8vo, pp. 729.

"Die sittliche Weltordnung." Von Moritz Carriere. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus. 1877. 8vo, pp. xii.–434.

"The Mystery of Suffering: Six Lectures." By the Rev. S. Baring-Gould, M. A. London: W. Skeffington & Son. 1877. 12mo, pp. 112.

faith. What shall we say of the undoubted fact that this halcyon age of ours, so full of cheerful theology, has produced the gloomiest of all philosophies, even the pessimism, that regards life as in itself a curse, declares birth to be damnation, and welcomes death as the only salvation? How shall we account for the fact that the hell which has been dismissed by some of our leading preachers is restored by our freethinkers, and made out to be the centre of this actual world? Radical, common-sense leaders may turn away from this statement in impatience of a new folly or indignation at a fresh imposture; but no earnest, thoughtful man will be indifferent to any opinion or tendency that has sincere and able followers and is making a decided mark upon the literature of our time. We must confess to being frequently provoked by some of the speculations of pessimists, and to being sometimes not a little astonished by their extravagance. But these men reason carefully enough and write well enough to claim a hearing; and even if their leaders had less learning and eloquence they would call for attention from the guardians of public opinion on account of their great and growing influence upon current thought and speech. This view of the movement is evidently taken by the leading thinkers of Europe, and we could make out a catalogue of works against pessimism that would form a little library. Solid octavos, thick pamphlets, popular lectures, and learned and brilliant reviews, have gone into the fight, and the cry is, "Still they come." That master of Christian apologetics, Dr. J. H. A. Ebrard, of Germany, does not refuse to set the pessimist philosophers, Schopenhauer and Hartmann, in the front rank of the enemies of the faith which he defends, nor does he fail to bring to bear upon their system the heaviest guns of his orthodox philosophy. In the winter of 1876, Dr. Paul Zimmermann seems to have won the presence and attention of the cultivated men as well as women of the gay capital of Austria to his thoughtful and eloquent lectures in defense of ideal theism against the new creed of despair; and this protest of South Germany against the Berlin pessimist school is now repeated at Munich by the noted oracle of art and æsthetics, Moritz Carriere, in his able and fascinating book on "The Moral Order of the World," which begins with thanksgiving for the downfall of Napoleonism, sees love everywhere in the harmony of the universe and the hopes of the

nation, and traces out the benign power that unfolds itself in the All, and finds the all in the One. From Stuttgart, a serious and cogent treatise has just reached us from the pen of the distinguished and lamented statesman Von Golther, who deals with pessimism in its bad effects upon education. Holland sends out a prose essay from the old Society of the Hague in face of the new enemy of religion. The French Academy is represented in the conflict by such powerful men as Paul Janet and E. Caro; and England's eupeptic habit and cheerful trust have found a host of champions, most ponderous of whom, although not quite the most brilliant, is James Sully, the author of the "History and Criticism of Pessimism," which heads our list; and most earnest and eloquent of them all is Baring-Gould, whose little book closes the list. It is certainly for us Americans to open our eyes to this goblin, and thus far our daily press has been in advance of our literary reviews as to this matter. Our aim is to illustrate some of the conditions and characteristics of the movement, to consider its essential principles, and to estimate its probable influence.

I. Perhaps the very surprise, and even horror, with which this creed of despair is received by the ruling public sentiment may do something to explain its origin. Extremes meet, and one extravagance is sure to meet another. Why, then, be astonished that the age which has rejoiced in the most thoroughgoing optimism should be startled by the apparition of the most dismal pessimism, a theory which is perhaps but a change of base in the same speculative spirit? We may understand to a certain extent how this transition has come if we bear in mind the personal traits, the general position, and the universal tendencies of thought and life, that have marked the leaders of this school.

All men are probably pessimists at some time, and with some men the gloomy temper tends to be habitual, and they are almost always looking on the dark side of things. In fact, every strong emotion tends to generalize itself, and the heart is more fond of the absolute than the head. If a child has an ache in the stomach or the teeth, if the little fellow is scratched by the cat, stung by a bee, or if he tumbles down-stairs or does not get the expected cake or toy, he is fond of saying: "It is always so; you always treat me in this way. I never have a good time." Perhaps the next minute some sudden turn of luck may change his mood, and

smiles like April sunshine may put to flight that April shower of tears; but that passing cloud none the less shows what our human nature is, and much of the gloom that clouds literature and life proves that we are but children of a larger growth, and that we insist upon making a perpetual curse out of a flitting trouble. Most of the strongest quotations which the pessimists make from the great poets and philosophers of ancient and modern times may be explained in this way, and the despairing words which they speak for themselves or for their heroes are not to be taken as professions of faith so much as utterances of emotion. It is not a fair interpretation of the author of the book of Job to quote the sentence, "Let the day perish wherein I was born;" nor do we do justice to the wisdom of Solomon by taking from the book of Ecclesiastes the words: "Therefore I hated life; because the work that is wrought under the sun is grievous unto me: for all is vanity and vexation of spirit." Nor do we represent truly the general delight of the Greeks in life itself by harping upon such sayings of Homer and Sophocles and Plato as these: "There is nothing more wretched than man;" "Not to be born is the most reasonable, but, having seen the light, the next best is to go thither whence one came as soon as possible;" "If death is the privation of all feeling, a sleep without a dream, what a marvelous gain it is!" These Greeks none the less rejoiced in life, and sayings like these are but passing shadows upon their sunshine.

It is quite a memorable fact that the very year 1818, which is the date of Leopardi's acceptance of his gloomy philosophy in the weary solitude of Recanati, brought Schopenhauer to Italy, after having finished his great work on "The World as Will and as Presentation." The two men never saw and never probably heard of each other; yet how they are named throughout the world together, and the delicate Italian is now seen with his quivering harp to have begun the overture of the "Drama of Despair" which the burly German has followed up with his drum and trumpet! Schopenhauer was then thirty years old. He was born in 1788, at Dantzic, and passed his youth at Hamburg in the banking-house of his father, a position so little congenial to him that, upon his father's death, he left it for Göttingen and the study of philosophy, then under the instruction of the skeptical professor Ernst Schulze. After a residence at Berlin, and

attending the lectures of Fichte, he wrote his able thesis upon "The Fourfold Root of the Principle of the Sufficient Reason," and he took at Jena, in 1813, his doctor's degree. From 1814 to 1818 he lived at Dresden, and there wrote the book upon "The World as Will and as Presentation," upon which his fame rests and from which he apparently expected immediate notoriety, when he started for Italy in 1818, leaving his manuscript in the hands of a friend for publication. No such result came, and for long years he lived and taught in Berlin in virtual obscurity, doomed to see Hegel, whom he stigmatized as a charlatan, at the head of the philosophical schools. In 1831 he retired to Frankfort, where he died in 1860, having lived long enough to see the turn of the tide against Hegelianism and the worship of the Idea, and in favor of his own philosophy, which set up the Will as the supreme fact, and assailed the prevailing idealism with a bitterness and wit more acceptable to the mass of readers than the author's logic.

Schopenhauer's personal characteristics and experience undoubtedly had much to do with his philosophy. He professed to have received his misanthropical temper from his father and his intellectual gifts from his mother, who was a distinguished novelist. His attempt to be a man of business in spite of his tastes for study probably did little to sweeten his disposition, and undoubtedly the view of human nature which he got from the competitions of the market and the pages of the ledger, combined with the skeptical lessons of Prof. Schulze and the study of Voltaire, did not lead him to see much sense in the masters of Berlin philosophy who made the world and man depend upon the Idea. To this irascible youth Berlin idealism was all moonshine, and, cynic as he always was, and given to barking from the outset, he wanted teeth to make him bite, and the teeth that he needed came to him with his theory of "The World as Will and as Presentation." His philosophy is founded upon Will as the supreme force; and he belongs to this age of ours which is accepting the reign of Force after its bitter disappointment under the reign of the Idea.

Hartmann, who completes the trio of pessimist leaders, came of quite another pedigree; and in the very interesting and instructive sketch of thirty pages which introduces the volume of studies

which we have placed at the head of this article, he traces his development to the end of the year 1874. He was born in Berlin in 1842, the son of a captain of artillery, and his mother was the daughter of a physician. It is somewhat odd that this predestined pessimist claims to have had two mothers, because after her father's death his mother's sister came to live with her, and all of the military father's strictness was needed to offset the petting of the only child by these two kind souls. After a good schooling in literature and in the classics, as well as in music and drawing, the youth at sixteen entered the army of Prussia, and gave himself to the scientific instruction and the manly discipline required of a soldier. But an accident in 1861, which lamed his left knee, brought his military career to an end, and toward the close of 1864 he showed the drift of his new experience by beginning his work, "The Philosophy of the Unconscious," which was finished in 1867 and published in 1869, and which is the most conspicuous philosophical treatise of our day, and may probably be called with truth the most popular book of metaphysics that was ever published. There is something in this young man's lameness which took him from his dashing career as a soldier to his quiet chamber, and sometimes for months to his weary bed, that tempts us to explain his gloomy philosophy by his personal disappointment; yet he disclaims any such inference, and rather ascribes to his forced seclusion his freedom to think without being overpowered by book-learning; and he finds in his hard-won patience important help in his effort to lighten the gloom of human destiny by resignation and fellow-feeling. He, moreover, utterly denies that his system tends to make men unhappy; but maintains that it leads them to peace by expecting little good from this world, which is not only the worst that is possible, but the best that is possible; the only world that is possible, and worse for us than if there had been no world at all. We do him no wrong, therefore, in connecting his experience with his philosophy, as we complete this rapid survey of the personal life of the three pessimist leaders, and add the portrait of the lame soldier of Berlin to that of the sickly poet of Recanati and that of the saucy cynic of Frankfort.

These men evidently felt the influence of the general tendencies that were acting upon opinion and life in the nineteenth

century, chief among which we specify the decline of church authority, the unsatisfactoriness of speculative philosophy, and the insufficiency of the spirit of trade and luxury, which supplanted the old ambition and loyalty. Take what view that we please of the cause and the cure of the movement, there can be no reasonable doubt of the fact that the old ecclesiastical authority lost its power over the thinking men of the age; and that sensitive, aspiring souls like Leopardi, who inherited all the religious sentiment of the old Catholic Church and carried its fervor in their very blood, suffered deeply when they found nothing to take the place of the old faith and communion. So profound a thinker as Gioberti goes to the root of the matter when he quotes from St. Augustine the dominant thought under which Leopardi was educated: "Thou hast made us, Lord, for thyself, and restless is our heart until it rests in thee;" and then speaks of Leopardi's exposure to the general skepticism of the south of Europe, and to the sway which Locke and Condillac and De Tracy wielded over the mind of Italy. He had lost the old belief and worship, and he had not found the new culture and humanity. Put even as great a soul as Dante into his place, and would not he too have been tempted to despair? Where would the "Divina Commedia" have been, with no true emperor or pontiff to fill out its visions, no hell for the doom of the traitor, and no paradise where the lost Beatrice could lead the enraptured poet to the Queen of Heaven and to the beatific vision of God? The sickly bard of Recanati knew the charms of woman only to be scorned or jilted by her; and he could look up to no gracious Madonna with her incessant watch to comfort him for the fickleness of the pretty girl whose face had driven him mad. He wanted a faith, and did not find even a philosophy to take its place. The age of Dante and of Pascal had gone, and to him the new day-spring had not come.

The philosophy that rose in England and Germany, and found disciples in France and in time in Italy, and which sought to give rest in ideal convictions instead of church standards, was not sufficient to meet the wants of the people, or of an important class of thinkers to whom Schopenhauer, the founder of the pessimist system, belonged. The philosophers of Berlin, Fichte, Hegel, and Schelling, gave him little comfort; and when he published his

first treatise on the Sufficient Reason, and began to study his philosophy of the Will, he laughed at the folly of those schoolmen who were forever prating about ideas in a country which Frederick the Great had created by his sword, and which Napoleon was now conquering by his bayonets. Say what we may of Schopenhauer's extravagances, we must allow him the credit of seeing, as no other abstract thinker saw, that this world is governed more by will than by opinion, and that Nature herself has no opinions, but deals only with facts and forces, and to a certain extent she plays into the hands of pessimism. If not the devil in a strait-jacket, as Coleridge called her, she is not the gentle, pitying mother that the sentimentalists represent her to be. She has a will, a terrible will, of her own, and she strikes without a word.

Hence came a reaction, which for a time took a practical form in the spirit of the *bourgeoisie*, which has been so strong since 1830 under the rule of Louis Philippe and the second emperor, and in Germany since the death of Hegel and Goethe, and in England and America since the rise of the new industries. With all the advantages of this money-making age, there have been limitations and evils, especially the egotism that looks first to its own pocket and its own pleasures, setting up self in over-conscious pride, and ignoring the nation and the race in the luxury of its living. This state of things, with its self-will in enterprise, and its hedonism in the plan of life, goes far to explain the motive and the reason of Hartmann's philosophy, especially his view of the power of the unconscious, and the folly of pleasure-seeking. To a certain extent Northern Germany has gone with him, in his protest against self-sufficiency and enjoyment, and not without a certain ground has it been said by South German spite that Hartmann is Bismarck in philosophy, and Bismarck is Hartmann in statesmanship.

But, in addition to the particular and the general tendencies that have favored the rise of pessimism in our century, there are causes more universal in their character, which concern the root of the matter. If love may be called by eminence the old, old story, sin and death and all evil follow hard upon it, and the great question of all faith and all philosophy is: "What shall we make of the evil in the world and in ourselves, and who will show us the true good?" The reconciliation of good with evil—this has been and is

the great problem of mankind; and the nineteenth century, in its search for the absolute, began with a general disposition alike among the people and the philosophers to make light of evil, to give the devil his ticket-of-leave, or to ignore him and the power of darkness utterly, and to enthrone optimism as the creed of liberty and humanity. This roseate view came undoubtedly in part from the new popular freedom which professed to cure the old ills of society by enlightened law and popular education, and in part from the new science which recognized only perfect order in Nature, under the lead of thinkers like Spinoza, the geometric theosophist, who discerned only unerring thought and harmonious extension in the universe; and like Leibnitz, who put the Newtonian system into theology, and made the music of the spheres chant the theodicy of the world. The optimists of our century have followed in the wake of Spinoza or Leibnitz; and Rousseau, the democratic apostle of Nature, has in his marvelous eloquence put the doctrine into the heart of the people, and the constitutions of rising nations. But Time has been writing sad glosses upon that roseate confession. The ballots and the bullets of democracies have not brought the old evils to an end, and the Utopias of philosophers have not won the calm order of heaven to this troubled world. The new science itself has shown, and is showing, that there is something more than exact geometry and peaceful law in the universe, and the realm of conscious existence is seen to be less peaceful than the unconscious cosmos. The study of organic life, and of the history of Nature and man, has opened our eyes to the existence of warring powers around us; and poets do not, as fifty years ago, dwell solely upon the beauties and harmonies of the earth. Here is a touch of pessimism from Tennyson's "Maud," and he is most hopeful of the new singers:

"For Nature is one with rapine, a harm no preacher can heal;
The May-fly is torn by the swallow, the sparrow speared by the shrike,
And the whole little wood, where I sit, is a world of plunder and prey.

"We are puppets, man in his pride and Beauty fair in her flower;
Do we move ourselves, or are we moved by an unseen hand at a game
That pushes us off from the board, and others ever succeed?
Ah! yet we cannot be kind to each other here for an hour;
We whisper, and hint, and chuckle and grin at a brother's shame;
However we brave it out, we men are a little breed."

Thus poetry in our time acknowledges the existence of the pessimist creed, and illustrates its character and tendency, as a reaction from the prevailing optimism of our ideal leaders. It shows, in its way, the drift of recent thought in its search for the absolute reality, and its disposition to find in impersonal law and unconscious force the inexorable sovereignty which it has ceased to find in the Divine Personality and Providence. The movement is the logical as well as the ethical result of the effort to set the *cultus* of the universe in place of the worship of God, an effort which began in enthusiasm for Nature as the perfect harmony, and ends in despair at her discord and tyranny, according to her new interpreters.

II. The cardinal principle of pessimism goes directly against the first instinct of human nature. Human nature, and in fact all Nature, clings to life, while pessimism declares that life in itself is evil, and the end of it, death, is the only redemption. The pessimists say, "Spell *Leben*, life, backward, and you have *Nebel*, cloud;" or, to put the same conceit into English, spell *live* backward, and you have *evil*. Such is the dreary creed of this school, which teaches what never before has been seriously taught west of the Ganges, and what distances even the founder of Buddhism in its doctrine of despair.

Now we can find motives enough to account for the rise of this school, but where is the sufficient reason? We find no sufficient reason in Leopardi's desperate estimate of the wretchedness of life, for many have suffered more than he, and yet believed in the Supreme Good, and reasoned out its triumph. Nor does Schopenhauer's doctrine of the supremacy of Will over Nature and man of necessity teach that life is evil, and under bondage to cruel force, since the Will, as Will, may rule justly and mercifully; and religion has built its most commanding systems upon the sovereignty of law, the triumph of Almighty Power and Grace. If, as he affirms, music is the most direct expression of the sovereign Will, its voice is not despair, for there is hope in all music, and the saddest *Miserere* implores pardon and offers peace. Hartmann least of all implies his pessimism in his philosophical standing-point—the doctrine of the Unconscious. Grant that we are surrounded and pervaded by elements and powers outside of our consciousness, why may they not be friendly rather

than hostile? And is not the fact of the existence of such influences as transcend human conscience the very ground upon which prophets and poets have founded their claims to inspiration? Indeed, a devotee like St. Augustine would delight in Hartmann's plea for the Unconscious, far more than a calm philosopher like Marcus Antoninus, or an ethical theologian like Pelagius; and Wesley's camp-meetings, and Moody's revival campaigns, have been set on fire by the same idea of influence from outside of consciousness as that which runs through Hartmann's book. That there is, moreover, a power of will and intellect beyond our consciousness is one thing to believe; and that this power has no consciousness of its own, and that it sets itself against all conscious life, is quite another thing.

Hartmann claims for his principle of the Unconscious the place in philosophy which the law of gravitation has in physics, and thus he makes himself out to be the Newton of philosophy; while he gives to Kant, who refers all knowledge to the criterion of reason, the honor of being the Copernicus of philosophy. Why not carry out the parallel? Why turn his philosophy of the sovereign will and mind to results so dismal, and so little in keeping with Newton, or with Copernicus and Kant?

It is very evident, however, that the pessimist leaders insist upon connecting their extreme opinions with their primal philosophy of the Will and of the Unconscious. Let us glance at the most conspicuous of these opinions, and consider the pessimist ideas of the evil work of the Omnipotent Will in creating desire, in raising illusions, and in making of the whole struggle of existence a disappointment at last.

Man is born into this world to be tormented by desire, which is a perpetual and unceasing thirst, not satisfied, but intensified, by each pleasure, and agonized by each privation. "The life of man is only a struggle for existence, with the certainty of being conquered." The ruling Will gives him a never-ceasing will to have what he cannot secure, and the result is that pleasure is in itself negative, and pain only is positive; and, moreover, as intelligence and refinement increase, the more susceptible man is to suffering. What he calls progress is but the most wretched sense of his misery. Such is the pessimist view of life. It is plain that this theory of desire is full of assumptions and fallacy. It

is not true that will is mere desire, or that desire is an evil. Will is purpose, a healthful native force, that carries satisfaction in its own pulse and movement, so that it is delight for a child to play, and for a man to walk and think and speak, even when no especial object is to be won by the effort. Life, healthful life, is of itself a blessing; and if a child cries before he laughs, it is not because the little creature has pessimist notions and declines living, but because he finds difficulties in the way of his breathing and feeding, and he insists upon having them removed, and letting him have his full share of air and warmth and food. The will is one of the most majestic attributes of man, and, in its highest plane, it is calm as well as strong; it speaks in the winds that are battles, and in the songs that are victories; the sculptor carves it upon the brow of his Apollo, and the painter puts it into the frown of St. Michael upon the prostrate dragon, and into the light of the Christ of the Transfiguration. In fact, Schopenhauer here contradicts himself, as he does often, and he takes back in his theory of æsthetics the pessimism of his theory of the will. If, as he says, art is the only heaven, because it gives us the highest truth purged of base and feverish desire, how can there be art without the will-power; and is it not the essential characteristic of the artist, whether poet, painter, sculptor, musician, or orator, that he must not only see his ideal, but must be able to put it into telling form, and make it tell always? Has not a truly-cultivated mind, a well-disciplined life, something of this art-power in itself, and does not the reverent and victorious will rise to freedom and beauty too, not by deadened nature, but by subdued and harmonized desire?

There is of course some truth in what Schopenhauer says of the intense character of pain as compared with average pleasure. To be near starvation is agony, and to eat from day to day is moderate satisfaction in comparison; yet it must be remembered that to be near starving is not the common lot, and that the pain of hunger is the motive to seeking food, and no small zest to its enjoyment. Then is it not obvious that, in the regular round of a just life, the desires lead to wholesome satisfaction, and what we call our daily bread stands for a precious knowledge, which is by no means negative in itself, and is a great comfort to be remembered, even when its accustomed order is interrupted by

positive pains? Schopenhauer defines the will alike as a universal power and a human faculty, and he took something of the fatalism and torpor of the Orientals with his Buddhist creed of despair. The mind of Europe does not dream in that castle of indolence; and Aristotle, its greatest practical thinker, spoke its conviction when he said, "The intellect is perfected, not by knowledge, but by activity."

There is much to be said in behalf of Schopenhauer's idea that pain is more frequent and intense as culture rises, and that refinement brings peculiar susceptibility to suffering. Our modern life illustrates this position, especially where it pampers desires instead of nurturing ability, and where its exactions grow as its power dwindles. But this is not true progress, and the happiest men and women are they who have the best and most comprehensive culture, and whose lives have the richest resources of society and books, and whose habits have such range and purpose as to give unity and variety to their days, in that melody of sequence and that harmony of combination that give the charm of art to the economy of labor and enjoyment. Such persons may, like Baring-Gould, say that "it is a high privilege to have the capacity for suffering keenly, whether in the body or in the intellect or the soul," and that suffering is education, evidence, and sacrifice.

Schopenhauer's description of the illusion to which mankind is subject, under the rule of the universal will, is one of the most striking parts of his book. His idea is, that the will-power strives to keep up the races without any care for the individuals who make up the race. This view of illusion comes to a point in the discussion of sex and the act of generation, which he regards as the original sin and the cause of all evil. The will brings man and woman together by an irrepressible instinct, not for their good, but to keep up the race. The sexual relation, with its comedy of love, he regards as supreme folly, and wrong so far as the parties to it are concerned; a piece of irony in Nature, who veils her spite in a show of pleasantry, and whose blandest smile is the disguise of a fatal *coup de grâce*. He is the most bitter of satirists of woman. He thinks this sex secondary to man, with no position apart from him, without original genius, without justice and truth, with ideas as scant as her hair is long; not, indeed,

without a certain quickness of wit and tenderness of feeling, yet full of hate for her own sisterhood, and making up by deceit and artifice what is lacking in power. He especially dislikes the lady of modern society, and thinks her a mistake and a fraud upon simple womanhood. He evidently had occasion for this cynicism toward the sex that does not believe in pessimism. Women troubled him apparently more by their attractions than he troubled them by his gibes. He apparently knew more of the torment of the instinct than the worth of the affection that brings the sexes together; and his whole treatment of the subject of marriage is a coarse caricature. His sentences, indeed, are cutting; but any gentlewoman who looked him in the face, or charmed the social circle by her smile, could cut him more deeply by a fascination that he owned, and by a spiritual charm that he tried to degrade and deny. Hartmann escapes his teacher's extravagance in this respect; and, much as he insists upon the illusion of sex, he allows to women the marvelous power of being moved from the charmed sphere of the unconscious, and of charming men and refining them, as their fellow-men themselves cannot do. A sufficient answer to the satire upon marriage, as "halving a man's privileges and doubling his burdens," and upon love, as the cruel illusion of the universal deceiver, is found in the closing paragraph of Hartmann's sketch of his own life. It is a picture of his frugal and happy home next the Botanical Garden in Berlin, with his loving wife—the intellectual companion of his ideal efforts—and his pretty child, playing with a four-footed pet at their feet, and with kindred and friends near by. "If you would see cheerful and contented faces, you must go to these pessimists." So said the philosophical friend who thus exploded the creed of illusion.

It is evident that Leopardi has anticipated Hartmann in his criticism of the three stages of history and life—childhood as in Greece, youth as in the middle ages, maturity as in modern times —but to our sober thought there is more satisfaction in the poet's impassioned portraiture than in the philosopher's bold and proud analysis. It is not true that in those three stages the search for good has ended only in disappointment, or that disappointment is the only end for those who wish to renew those stages. Childhood always had its own joy, and it still lives and still rejoices.

In fact, is not our race as young as it ever was; and if our children sometimes are a little too old in their ways, and sometimes ape their elders, are not the best of our elders children at heart, with not only their own buoyant pulse, but with the best young blood of the whole race bounding in their veins? That child of the Berlin Botanic Garden is as merry a child as any girl or boy that heard old Homer sing; and that father who reasons out his gloomy philosophy in a home so full of satisfaction has not only child and wife to make him young, but the whole inheritance of the world's undying culture to cheer him up, especially the thought and soul of immortal Greece, which Germany inherits, to give him joy. Greece lived into the middle ages, and it went, in the spirit of Paul and the mind of John, into the best life of the Catholic Church, and is there still in the sense of sonship, that is essential to all spiritual and Catholic faith. This faith, too, survives in our modern culture, and, if the belief in the immortal life has undergone changes, it has not died out; while in many quarters it keeps its own form and fervor, in other spheres of thought it has not lost light and power by losing gloom, and making the hereafter more to be hoped than feared. Nay, the most serious and promising social science of the present age accepts at once the thought of Greece with the faith of Christendom—and asks men to coöperate in work in the name of their common brotherhood, and in the light of the Eternal Reason and Love as well of the Eternal Word and Spirit. There are, indeed, some ugly spots in the survey of those three stages of human experience; but there is no slough of despair, no wall that blocks the way onward. The fathers of those three ages are still with the race, and Plato and Aristotle, Augustine and Charlemagne, Franklin and Goethe, and their peers, still lead the race forward. Perhaps Goethe, among the authors of our century, in his calm wisdom as well as his ideal beauty, best answers the pessimist's dark vision of our coming civilization; and his "Faust," especially its second part, is the best commentary on the temptations and the triumphs of our age. Not the old learning or the new lust, not the study of Nature or of art, not diplomatic shrewdness or self-righteous virtue, but faithful service with all just helps, generous humanity and filial faith, must solve the problem of the future, give peace on earth, and grace from heaven, as in the old man Faust, who

died true to the last, and escaped the clutches of the pessimist devil.

It is odd that, in some respects, Schopenhauer, the most aggressive and crabbed of pessimists, goes more into the clouds of mystery than any of our romantic poets or visionary socialists, and that he believes in what he calls magic with a light that can penetrate space, and a will that can set distance at naught, and, by contact with the Supreme Will, make itself felt in all worlds. Men with more heart and soul than he will not believe as much as this without believing a great deal more, and hoping and loving more. Hartmann, too, has his share of mysticism, and his doctrine of the Unconscious keeps a certain hold of the ages of faith. As Mr. Sully says, "Hartmann is largely read for this semi-poetical, semi-theological element in his works." So Jerusalem is not dead, nor Athens either, in these new Titans who are trying to break up the old world.

III. As to the probable influence of pessimism upon the thought and action of our age, there will be quite various opinions, and already we discover signs of antagonist schools of philosophy and literature within this movement. Yet there can be no doubt that the movement falls in with some conspicuous and important tendencies of our times. People have been somewhat fast of late all over the world; and the fall of financial values, and the decay of dignities, have brought with them a decline in the very sense of value itself; a misgiving not only of the worth of goods, but of the reality of good itself; in fact, a question whether anything is worth striving for, and life itself is worth living. In both cases undue inflation has brought about the extreme depression; and men have come to loss and to grief because they marked their property too high, and, moreover, had for themselves and their families too high expectations. Therefore, the creed that finds disappointment in the very nature of things is, in some respects, a comfort, dismal though it may be, in these dark days, and the unhappy are relieved by being told that their case is not exceptional, but normal; and the fault is not in themselves, or their particular stars, but in the structure of society, and the nature of man, in the constitution of the universe, and in all the stars that shine, or that have ceased to shine. We meet this disposition among croakers all over the world; and even matter-of-

fact England has a rising brood of these frogs of Acheron, who are not sorry that others are in the mud with them. So great a name as Carlyle makes some of this poor music at times; and Mr. Grey, in his "Rocks Ahead," utters a fearful wail over the prospects of the faith, the industry, and the wealth, of England.

There is something wholesome in this view of things, so far as it cautions men against over-sanguine anticipations, rash adventures, and romantic visions, and leads them to recognize the limitations of their own intelligence and power in the facts of Nature, and the vanities and vices of their fellow-men. It is well for the sentimental who think that it is enough to mean well, and that a good heart is sure to triumph, to be told that he who means well, and yet does not see his way clearly, is sure to go where the road which he has mistaken leads him, even if to ruin of fortune and health. It is proper too for idealists to be told that there is will as well as thought in true wisdom and success, and that they are poor leaders who see the right way and have no force or means to go, and to lead others there; or who do not know how much time and opportunity tell upon every plan and work of man. A little leaven of pessimism might have helped our people fifteen or twenty years ago, when agitators were holding before them their Utopias of progress, and asking them to make money by manufacturing promises to pay it; and our over-eager optimists might have kept back the defiance that has brought the wreck of a million lives and countless millions of money, to say nothing of the general demoralization of business, politics, and society. The fire-eaters of the South, the star-gazers of the East, and the manifest-destiny men of the West, all were possessed with the same optimism; and if the leaders were to live their lives over again they would see the worst before, instead of after, the evil day. The result need not have been acceptance of persistent wrong, but vindication of the right under more deliberate legislation, and more comprehensive and conciliating principles and policy. The conspicuous reforms of the day need the same caution; and it is safe to assure the enthusiasts who expect to dismiss all poverty and all intemperance by ballot or legislation, that Evil is a tough old visitor, and he is not likely to be voted out of the country, or the world, in a day or a generation. In fact, what we need as much as anything is a

serious and searching and thorough-going review of things as they are, with all the help of science, the arts, education, and morality; and if pessimists can best hold the mirror up to the sin and shame of what we call our civilization, let us thank them for doing it.

But of course we are to distinguish between their just criticism and their dogmatic dictation. Their philosophy may be much at fault, while their facts and illustrations may be just and wholesome. We may find satisfaction in Schopenhauer's statement of the primacy of the will-element in the universe, without regarding this will as a blind force, or thinking that the whole problem of causation is solved merely by summing all the forces of Nature, and the desires, volitions, and purposes of men, and the power of the Almighty, under one little word of four letters, in a brevity which may be the soul of wit, and is quite as likely to be the mark of folly or the trick of pride. We may be grateful to Hartmann for pointing out so strongly what so many sages of Nature and the soul have indicated, that our conscious life is in a great degree dominated from a source beyond our consciousness, without thinking that the word unconscious is enough to explain all the facts that it is used to designate; and surely without accepting his rash assumption that the power which acts outside of our consciousness must therefore have no consciousness of its own—an inference as false as to infer that because the organ is played by a hand of which it is unconscious, therefore the player must be as unconscious as the organ which he plays. Certainly this is a strange turn of the theory of Agnosticism, and its idea of the Absolute. Instead of saying that we cannot know God, it says that the Supreme Being cannot know us or itself, and must be of necessity impersonal and unconscious, a position which certainly cannot be proved, and which, to unsophisticated thinkers, does not appear especially reasonable.

Then, too, we must not forget the utter mistake of pessimism in its scheme for the redemption of mankind from misery by the ceasing of the will to live and the annihilation of existence. Whether this scheme is to be carried out, as with Schopenhauer, by personal asceticism in its calm absorption into nothingness, or, as with Hartmann, by a grand combination of the race to will itself out of willing and out of existence, the absurdity is essen-

tially the same. Mankind would not do this if they could, and they could not do it if they would. They like in the main to live, and they want bread and beef, not death and nothingness, to give them comfort; for even their vices are faults of vitality, not of deadness, and they love strong drink because it seems to give them spirit, not because it may lay them dead, or as if dead, by excess. A French physician ascribes the pessimism of Germans to the use of beer, which stupefies, while wine cheers the heart; yet the beer-drinker drinks for pleasure, and he also smokes for enjoyment, however unwisely. Then, moreover, what is more evident than that if men could cheat the blind power that compelled them into conscious being, and will themselves out of it, that same blind power would probably repeat the old wrong and will them back into being again, or create another, perhaps a more cursed race?

The whole tone of this system is degrading as it is disheartening; and, proud as its leaders are of their ethics of resignation and compassion, they strike at the root of ethics by striking at the idea of right and duty under supreme justice. While they make light of pleasure, and deny that it can hold its own in comparison with pain, they really exalt pleasure above virtue by denying that there is anything to live for in the face of suffering, and by maintaining that it is best to go out of existence, because we cannot have a good time by staying in it. There is little reason to believe that this creed of despair will inspire the mass of men with any exalted resignation, or still the rage of communists, by its assertion of the wretchedness of the rich as well as of the poor. Sakyamuni might persuade the mild people of India to wait for the Nirvâna of oblivion, but the mob of Europe and America are not of that passive temper. They want money and meals, and they will not be led to seek them by gentle or by just means, by being taught that blind Will rules the universe, or that whatever reason there is in Nature is unconscious and serves blind Will, and that there is no hope but in death. Pessimism may be the white flag of peace and resignation to the dreamy thinker, but it is the black flag of blood and booty to the ignorant and the wretched, and not only to them but to the well-to-do workman who may be led to believe what this system falsely

teaches, that labor itself is an evil, and it is better to die than to work.

Instead of taking a desponding view of this philosophy of despair, however, it is well to remember that the great ages of faith and regeneration have been accompanied by an intense sense of existing evils, and have not been times of cheerfulness and prosperity. The Christian civilization sprang up in a dark time, when the old faiths were decaying, and the might of Rome threatened to crush the life of nations, and the worst superstitions were seeking to supplant the falling idols and to fill the deserted shrines. Among these superstitions there are traces of the Buddhism that is now appearing in the high places of modern thought and life. Why not look for a triumph of good as decided as the threatening evil, a new Christendom in this new Rome of money and pleasure, luxury and misery, which so invites enthusiasm and tempts despair? There is evil enough to make pessimists of those who see nothing else. Is there not good enough to overcome that evil by the only true optimism, the faith and the purpose that see a divine meaning in existence, and are determined to live up to its standard, and learn by faithful service the secret that philosophy fails to teach? It has been well said that as the electric spark turns the flaming oxygen and the torpid nitrogen into vital air, thus the true fire so joins the good with the evil in the world as to make the reconciliation a triumphant redemption. Perhaps, with health of body and of mind, with comprehensive service and brave faith and manhood, we may see some such sequel to the pessimism of the nineteenth century.

SAMUEL OSGOOD.

VIII.

ANTIPATHY TO THE NEGRO.

Is it true, then, as Southern statesmen so often told us in the days before the war, that the white man and the negro cannot live together as equals?

Alone among Southern gentlemen of the old school who have left their opinions on accessible record, General Washington entertained the thought of freeing the slaves without removing them; and with him it was only a thought, uttered in response to one of Lafayette's fervent appeals on behalf of the slave. It is doubtful if this foremost man of the Western world could have obtained in the Legislature of his native State respectful consideration of such a scheme, so rooted and so general was the conviction that harmonious coöperation between the two races was possible only so long as the white man held the handle of the whip, and the black man felt the lash. General Washington had probably witnessed the scene that occurred in the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1769, when Colonel Richard Bland moved the repeal of the law which forbade the emancipation of slaves unless they were sent out of the colony. Neither the gray hairs nor the shining talents nor the eminent standing of the mover saved him from abuse. He was styled an enemy of his country; he was treated with indecorum by a body noted for its exact observance of decorum.

The case was supposed to be one of such extreme incompatibility that the mere suggestion of any remedy short of separation gave offense; and separation happened to be then, as it is now, the only remedy that was impossible of application. Mr. Jefferson had an amiable, impossible project of educating the slaves in science, arts, and industry, and sending them gradually away at the public expense to some "convenient" part of the earth, where they were to be set up in business, the returning vessels to

bring home a high class of white immigrants to supply their places —a scheme that would have overtasked the richest and most powerful empire. The later project of colonization, so fascinating to philanthropists fifty years ago, would have kept the fleets of the greatest naval power busy in the mere transportation of the daily increase of a race so prolific.

The wisest man is a fool, the strongest man is weak, when he pits himself against inexorable facts. Among the names that figure in the early history of the republic, that of James Madison is among the most justly and widely honored; for his patient and modest fidelity to every trust won the respect of men whom his measures displeased. How wild seems to us his scheme of deportation! Providence itself, he thought, had in one bountiful gift indicated the method, provided the place, and supplied the means. Our illimitable Western wilderness, peopled then only by a few scattered tribes of red-men, a virgin world, too remote to enter yet into the scheme of the United States—why should it not furnish a home for the slaves? It would cost to buy them of their masters six hundred million dollars, a sum that could be raised by the sale of two hundred million acres; and, as the slaves were gradually bought, they could be settled upon the unsold portion of the Western lands. The excellent heart of Madison swelled with the thought. "To what object so good, so great, and so glorious," he wrote as recently as 1819, "could that peculiar fund of wealth be appropriated?" Two wide expanses of desert would be brought under culture, and the price paid for one of them by freemen would fill with freemen the other; and thus two free and happy communities would be created by the same act of Congress! And if our forefathers have wronged the colored man, he added, what better atonement can we make than this?

Among the reasons given by Southern statesmen for this supposed necessity of separation, some have been proved by events to be fallacious. Mr. Madison, a large slaveholder all his life, had the impression that the black man's natural aversion to labor would yield to nothing but compulsion. Even the chance of working out his freedom, he thought, would not make him work, much less the ordinary motive of gaining a comfortable subsistence. How mistaken he was, the five million bales of cotton

raised this year without the aid of the overseer's whip sufficiently attest. It is strange that so wise an observer, the owner of a hundred slaves, and a master who never permitted the lash to be used upon his estate, should have held such an opinion.* The present writer, by one of the chances of the late war, had a female servant for many months, who was born and bred a slave upon the ancestral lands of the Madisons, in Virginia, and he can bear witness, not merely that she was industrious, but that industry seemed as instinctive in her as in ourselves, and as necessary to her enjoyment of life.

Both Madison and Jefferson thought that the slaves, if emancipated without deportation, would go from under their masters' control cherishing ten thousand bitter recollections of wrongs and cruelties; that a thirst for revenge, a deep, vindictive hate, would possess them, which, conspiring with other causes, would issue in a war that would probably end only by the extermination of one of the colors. How little the mansion, in any land or time, knows of the cottage! So, now, we hear dainty people, in brown-stone dwellings, talking of the dangerous classes, meaning the patient and anxious laborers who inhabit distant and unornamented streets of their city. There is little vindictiveness in the negro; else, he were no problem for *us* to solve; he would solve himself. We saw the homes of the South at his mercy during the war; he was their provider, their solicitous, affectionate guardian. Not a solitary instance has been reported, and probably not one has occurred, of an emancipated slave in the Southern States attempting or desiring to avenge a wrong received from a former master.

There was one argument for the separation of the colors which was insisted on equally by philosophic statesmen and by the thoughtless multitude: we may call it the antipathy argument. The opinion was almost universal, forty years ago, both at the North and the South, that there was an antipathy between the two races of the same nature, and implanted for the same end, as

* One of his slaves said of him: "Mr. Madison, I think, was one of the best men that ever lived. I never saw him in a passion, and never knew him to strike a slave, although he had over one hundred; neither would he allow an overseer to do it. When any slaves were reported to him as stealing or cutting-up badly, he would send for them and admonish them privately, and never mortify them by doing it before others. They generally served him very faithfully."—"A Colored Man's Reminiscences of James Madison," p. 17.

that which preserves pure and distinct the various kinds of animals. How strong and general this impression was, few readers can have forgotten. When Miss Kemble came first to Boston, in 1832, she sat next to the late John Quincy Adams at dinner one day, and the conversation turned upon the tragedy of "Othello." Mrs. Kemble has since reported one of Mr. Adams's remarks on this subject: "Talking to me about Desdemona, he assured me, with a most serious expression of sincere disgust, that he considered all her misfortunes as a very just judgment upon her for having married a *nigger!*" * If this anecdote had not come to us on such respectable authority, we could hardly believe it of a man who, during the last and best ten years of his life, was looked upon as the black man's champion. Mrs. Kemble adds a suggestion of a new "point" in the play for Southern audiences: "I hate the nigger," she thought, would have a far stronger effect in Charleston or Savannah than "I hate the Moor."

Some readers have doubtless noted the incident related by Mr. Seward, in his autobiography, of his first visit, in 1819, to a New York theatre. The youthful runaway student ventured into the gallery of the Park Theatre one evening, induced thereto by the low price of the ticket. At the end of the first act of a melting drama, which had wholly absorbed him, he discovered, to his confusion and dismay, that he was the object of loud and contemptuous laughter to a great crowd of men, women, and boys, on the opposite side of the gallery. While he was looking to see what there might be amiss in his person or neighborhood, a colored man, black as the ace of spades, but of gentle demeanor, came to him and meekly said, "Guess young master don't know that he's got into the colored folks' part of the gallery." The blushing lad, as a matter of course, instantly left the reputable and decent colored people near whom he was sitting, and took a place among the vicious and disorderly whites. The jeering ceased at once.

The noticeable thing about this anecdote is, the manner in which the situation was accepted both by white and black. The worthy colored man sympathized with the embarrassment of the youth, recognizing the infinite and disastrous impropriety he had committed; and the sandy-haired lad from Union College in-

* "Journal of a Residence in Georgia," p. 86.

ferred from the incident how far he was from being fit "to begin the world alone." Neither that shy student, nor the kind and gentlemanlike black man, nor the scurrilous crowd of the old Park gallery, accepted gravitation with a more instinctive and blind certainty than they did the law which decreed that black people and white people could not sit together in a public place. Forty years later there was a Seward who rose to a fine strain of prophecy in the well-known words, "No man will ever be President of the United States who spells negro with two *g*'s."

Nothing was strong enough to stand against this prejudice. Theodore Parker himself dismissed from his school near Boston, in 1832, a colored girl, "in deference to the objections of some of his patrons." He did this with reluctance—he confessed it with shame; but he did it. All examples of this nature, however, pale before the one related with so much astounding detail by the late Rev. Samuel J. May, in his "Recollections." Of this little work, which most readers overlooked at the time of its publication, one thing may be truly said: no proper history of the United States can ever be written which does not contain the substance of its revelations. It is "material" of that accidental and authentic kind, like the testimony of a highly-intelligent by-stander, which is so dear to the faithful seeker after truth. Nothing in it reads so much like the record of an extinct barbarism of the sixth century B. C., as the history of Miss Prudence Crandall's attempt to found a boarding-school for colored girls in Connecticut, Anno Domini 1832. The gorge of staid Connecticut rose at the thought of having "a school for nigger-girls" planted in one of its umbrageous villages, to the detriment of real estate; for who could be expected to select as a place of residence a village polluted by "a nigger-school?" The people assembled in public meeting to denounce the nefarious enterprise; and when the term opened with fifteen or twenty well-behaved and respectable colored girls from Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and Providence, the following things were done: The storekeepers, butchers, and milkmen, unanimously refused to serve the school or sell anything to its pupils, so that supplies had to be brought in from a distance; none of the inmates could appear in the streets without being insulted; the steps and doors were

smeared, and the well filled, with filth; a young lady of seventeen, from Providence, a pupil of the school, was threatened with prosecution under an ancient vagrant law, the penalty of which was "ten stripes on the naked body;" an act was obtained from the Legislature, making the school an illegal enterprise, under which Miss Crandall was imprisoned in the murderers' cell of the county jail; the village doctor refused to visit the sick pupils, and the trustees of the church forbade the inmates of the institution to set foot in their building; and, finally, when all these legal measures had failed, lawless violence was resorted to. First, their house was set on fire, but the fire was discovered in time to prevent its spread; and, a few days after, at midnight, the home of these innocent and defenseless girls was assailed by ruffians with clubs and iron bars, and ninety panes of glass broken. Miss Crandall then quietly resolved to give up the attempt, since it was manifestly impossible for a little company of young women to resist violence of this kind. A little child and justice may be a match for all the judges, lawyers, legislators, and real-estate men in a community, so long as only legal weapons are employed; but against clubs, iron bars, and midnight mobs, women and children are powerless. The mob gave them an honorable release from martyrdom, and Miss Prudence Crandall retired with her pupils and her glory.

The individuals who did these things in 1832 felt that they had the people of the United States behind them. And they had, except a few tolerated Quakers and a few hated abolitionists. All men and women, all boys and girls, of the white races in the United States, heartily agreed with one of the "honorable" leaders in this affair who roared in the ears of the devoted and heroic May: "We are not merely opposed to *that* school; we mean there shall not be *such* a school set up anywhere in our State. The colored people never can rise from their menial condition in our country; they ought not to be permitted to rise here. They are an inferior race of beings, and never can or ought to be recognized as the equals of the whites. Let the niggers and their descendants be sent back to their fatherland, and there improve themselves as much as they may. The condition of the colored population of our country can never be essentially improved on this continent!" And so said nearly all of us who were then

alive. The negro pew or gallery came as natural to the children of that generation as the Fourth of July.

Was this a genuine antipathy? Happily, most of us at the North can now consider a question of this kind with as little of passion as if we were Cuviers or Darwins discussing a point in natural history. It *is* a point in natural history. Antipathy is known to be an indispensable ingredient in the constitution of things—as necessary, in fact, to the continuance of life in the universe, as sexual attraction itself. That the dog does not relish the propinquity of the cat is nothing against the cat; that the cat recoils from the dog in horror and affright is nothing against the dog. There are creatures who cannot endure the presence of their superiors; but this is not to be set down to the discredit of the superiors. "If I love thee," says Spinoza, "what is that to thee? If thou hatest me, what is that to me?"

A fact against the antipathy doctrine is that the black race does not reciprocate the repugnance. When Mrs. Kemble, on going the round of the infirmary of her Georgia plantation, saw a bewitching colored baby lying asleep on its mother's lap, all the mother stirring in her own good heart, she stooped and kissed the child. The black mother, so far from showing displeasure, was thrilled with delight, and all the circle of dusky countenances beamed. A cat does not feel so when a dog puts its cold nose near one of her kittens. A fact more decisive is, that the assumed antipathy does not answer the great object of an antipathy in keeping the two races distinct.

Since, then, this repugnance felt by some white people is not reciprocated by the black, since it does not keep the two races from mingling their blood, and since the offspring possesses also the reproductive power, it is certain that the repugnance is not a natural antipathy, like that which exists between the tiger and the lion, the canary and the yellow-bird, the rattlesnake and the copperhead.

These facts would suffice if we were all philosophic and disinterested naturalists. The present writer saw, a few months ago, a colored student seated very happily in the midst of the senior class of a New England college, taking his share in the recitation of the hour, and no one seemed to suffer from his proximity; but the reader has probably not forgotten that two students of a

New Jersey college were recently unable to take their morning portion of metaphysics because a colored student was listening to the same lecture. There are suits pending against New York landlords for declining to admit colored persons to their hotels, and in extensive portions of the country, as we remarked above, the white man's recoil from the black has been made more decisive by recent events. To recur to Charleston : it was noticed by the *Times* correspondent that the emancipation holiday last year, for the first time, had not one white participant. Several of the holiday-makers were white enough in color, and would pass for white men anywhere in the world but where their parentage was known. "Here," as the correspondent says, "one drop of black blood is more carefully traced and registered than the old blue blood of Spain." We may be pardoned, therefore, for adding one or two other considerations not drawn from natural history.

This color repugnance is usually observed to be strongest in the meanest. Among the educated people of the Southern States it was never half so strong as in the "white trash," and in the adventurers from other regions who had an interest in flattering the poor white trash. The man who made the disturbance about the colored person in the omnibus was generally a snob, more or less disguised. He might be a gorgeous gambler, a sham D. D., a pushing storekeeper, a small politician; but commonly the soul of a scamp was in him. At the North it was never the really high man or woman who felt aggrieved at the presence of a decent colored man. The most pleasing object shown to visitors at Daniel Webster's house, at Marshfield, was a portrait in oil of an old colored servant (very black), which hung in the principal room of the mansion. And who has not seen lovely and refined little white girls rush into the arms of a motherly negro nurse, black, corpulent, big-lipped, broad-nosed, and cover her spacious mouth with kisses? We may see this every day in Baltimore or Richmond, and it is no very uncommon sight in Boston and New York. We have seen black and white children sitting in perfect content side by side, in the same class at school, playing together, eating together, and no more regarding one another's color than so many black and white lambs playing on a June morning upon the daisied slopes of a New Hampshire

farm. Childhood, pure and unbiased, knows nothing of this repugnance. Like the measles, it is contagious, and some children easily catch it; but no child has it without catching.

We observe, also, that the malady—if it is a malady—yields to treatment, and to the softening influences of time. Unless the reader is an exceptionally constituted person, he can recall to memory a period of his life when he shared this prejudice, perhaps even so far as to spell negro with a redundant letter. If he is one of those whose minds have been open to the better influences shed abroad in this land during the last fifteen years, he feels it no more, and takes pleasure in showing that he does not. He would no more object to seeing at the theatre a family party of colored people in the next box to his own, than the fashionable world of Paris or London object to the same propinquity of a party of black East Indians. Many readers have seen East Indians at the Grand Opera of Paris, and the Queen's Theatre in London, whose color was much darker than that of most mulattoes, and their countenances not as well-favored. There they sit in splendid array, in the dress-circle, close to the royal box, and no one objects; nor could many Europeans present be made to comprehend the nature or purport of an objection. And may we not say that, in the best circles of the Northern States, such a company of colored people as the Nashville singers would be as welcome as they recently were in the breakfast-room of Mrs. Gladstone? This state of feeling, which was once confined to the few choicest spirits, has spread to grades of being less exalted, and will probably continue to descend until, in the course of another quarter of a century, a black man with a pocket full of money will be allowed to lose it in a Saratoga gambling-house.

It is remarkable how readily mankind in every age has accepted the notion of natural antipathy. No doubt, Pliny's frequent recurrence to this subject, in that Cyclopædia of Ancient Ignorance which he styled his "Natural History," was well pleasing to his readers. In all probability the people of Pompeii and Rome readily received his assertion of the special antipathy between the titmouse and the ass which causes the tiny bird to throw its eggs out of its nest at the sound of the ass's bray. Pliny mentions, too, that between the oak and the olive there exists "a hatred so inveterate" that they will both die if transplanted near one an-

other; and between the cabbage and the vine there is such "a mortal feud" that a drunken man is made sober by eating cabbage. But the most wonderful *antipathia* in Nature is that between the diamond and the warm fresh blood of a he-goat. The "indomitable power" of this antipathy will dissolve a substance which is "apt to break both anvils and hammers;" and the pious philosopher, who was not one of those who saw any *antipathia* between science and religion, attributes the discovery of so amazing a fact "solely to the munificence of the gods." He might well ask, "What spirit of research, what accident, what conjecture," could have set a mere mortal man upon the track of a truth so little to be suspected? The garrulous sage descants upon *sympathia* with the same unskeptical faith, not doubting, though much wondering at, the mysterious friendship existing between the parrot and the turtle-dove, the heron and the crow, the peacock and the pigeon, the water-bug and the leech.

"We love to decorate our vices with fine names," says Goethe, and this word *antipathia* has well served our turn. Curious is it to note a certain family likeness between the more noted human antipathies, even in some trifling details of resemblance. The great historic antipathies have this in common: it is the injured party that is the object of aversion. This also: the qualities which most deeply stir repugnance are those which repugnance itself tends to produce. Every loathsome quality which Christians and Mohammedans attribute to Jews is a natural consequence of the ill-treatment of which, for fifteen centuries, they have been the victims. The Italian Christian used to think that Nature had given to Jews the offensive odor which they brought with them from the wretched streets to which legalized intolerance for so many ages confined them; just as those Georgians, described so amusingly by Mrs. Kemble, fancied that colored people, living in log-hovels, had naturally a disagreeable smell too deep for soap-and-water. It would not be easy to convince a Mohammedan of Algiers, a Christian of Rome, or a "cracker" of Mississippi, that the odor which they remark is simply the stench exhaled from the abodes of squalid poverty the world over—from the Irish cot, the Highland hut, the French, Italian, and Spanish hovel, as well as from the Ghetto at Rome, and the negro quarter of a rice-plantation. "Thorough ablutions and

change of linen," as Mrs. Kemble observed, remove the objection. The onion, moreover, is poverty's spice-box and flavoring extract in every land where it grows, and this does not improve the odor that pervades poverty's dwelling-place. There was a period in English history when the Welsh were the constant theme of ridicule (as the old caricatures and broad-sheets attest), and we perceive that the Welsh, too, were invested with an evil smell.

Nothing, indeed, is more human than to conceive a physical antipathy toward the objects of contempt. Several American ladies, in the course of their travels in the East, have had opportunities of observing the contemptuous loathing felt by Mohammedan women of the more bigoted class for Christians of their own sex. It puts this matter of antipathy in a new light to be the object of antipathy. Most salutary it would be for those Christian ladies, who still undervalue Jews, to take up their abode in one of the remoter towns of the Barbary states, and to be exposed for a time to the vituperative scorn of the women of the country. A distinguished party of New York ladies some time ago enjoyed this precious means of grace, and they will not soon forget the passion of contempt expressed in the countenaces of the Mohammedan women, when, at the close of the day, as the custom was, all the families of the neighborhood gathered upon the roofs. "Female dogs of Christians!" was ascertained to be the meaning of the words hissed at them from the next house. It would also be instructive to some white men of Charleston and New Orleans to sojourn awhile in those regions of the tropical world, described by Mr. Darwin, where only dark skins are valued by the ladies, and no man can get a wife if he is so unfortunate as to be of a complexion a shade too light.

Nothing nourishes these insensate antipathies so much as the misconceptions arising from our ignorance of a despised class. We naturally keep away from the objects of dislike. That bitter antipathy, for example, which existed from 1798 to 1805 between the Democrats and the Federalists, and which infects the blood of some families now in the fourth generation, is in part explained by a single remark made by a public man of the time: "Members of different parties now cross the street to avoid speaking." We have all been struck with the ignorance, as well

as with the entire, quiet contempt, shown by the Romans of the first century for the Christians. Dean Swift descants upon the dangerous ignorance and contempt manifested in his day by the Protestant Irish for the Catholic majority; and there are now, as we are informed by a native, districts in the north of Ireland where a Presbyterian of Scotch lineage would as little think of giving his daughter in marriage to a young man of an Irish Catholic family as a gentleman of Louisiana would sanction the marriage of his son with an octoroon. On the other hand, the prejudice felt by Dr. Johnson for the Scotch was a common feeling in England for ages; he merely retained it longer than most, and was cured of it, in a good degree, by the simple and obvious expedient of going among them. These antipathies, we repeat, are all very much alike—Whig and Tory, Federalist and Democrat, Brahman and pariah, Spaniard and Moor, Mohammedan and Christian, Christian and Jew, Protestant and Catholic, Churchman and Dissenter, noblesse and peasant, Indian and squatter, white man and black man. We kick the worm far from us, away out into the dusty highway, and then despise the creature for squirming there dirty, miserable, and helpless.

But, happily, these antipathies have one other trait in common: they yield to better knowledge and juster human relations. Compare the Jew in Cincinnati with the Jew in Moscow: he is a nobler being, because he lives no longer in an atmosphere of contempt. All over the world, even in India, even in Turkey, even in China, we find that better knowledge makes better feeling, and begins to soften the prejudice of ages.

The weightiest argument in the minds of Southern men of former times against any and every scheme of white and black living together as equals was the mental inferiority of the black man. Jefferson, for example, had a low opinion of the negro's mental calibre. "Never yet could I find," he says, "that a black had uttered a thought above the level of plain narration," nor composed anything in music beyond "a small catch;" nor carved a pipe-bowl into the likeness of a head, nor showed the least aptitude for drawing or architecture. It was this passage in his "Notes on Virginia" that appears to have led a French author (M. Grégoire) to compile a work, in 1808, on the "Literature of the Negroes," a copy of which he sent to Mr. Jefferson during his presi-

dency. The President, in acknowledging the gift, did not recede from his old opinion. "But," said he, "because Sir Isaac Newton was superior to others in understanding, he was not therefore lord of the person or property of others." Unfortunately, the bishop's book possessed no value, because he omitted to ascertain whether his literary negroes were of pure or mixed blood; and his desire to make out a case for the negro made him blindly credulous. The colored poet, Phillis Wheatley, had her admirers a hundred years ago in Boston, where her volume can still occasionally be found. We have carefully looked over it, and cannot deny the justice of Jefferson's remarks upon it. She was a poet very much as "Blind Tom" is a musician, her verses being the merest echo of the common jingle of her day. She was a poet only as Christophe and Toussaint l'Ouverture (those colored caricatures of Bonaparte) were generals and emperors. A fatal facility of imitation stands in the way of this interesting race, and we cannot fairly deny that facts give support to the opinion of an inherent mental inferiority. It is ninety years since Jefferson published his "Notes," and we cannot yet name one negro of pure blood who has taken the first, the second, the third, or the tenth rank in business, politics, art, literature, scholarship, science, or philosophy. To the present hour the negro has contributed nothing to the intellectual resources of man. If he turns "negro minstrel," he still imitates the white creators of that black art; and he has not composed one of the airs that have had popular success as negro melodies.

We can say of him, however—what we cannot positively assert of our red brother—that he has shown himself capable of improvement. On the 8th of August next, four hundred and thirty-five years will have rolled away since the white man and the negro entered into familiar relations with one another on a large scale. The introduction occurred in 1444, at the Portuguese port of Lagos, soon after the dawn of a hot August day. Six of the great Prince Henry's caravels had come in the day before from exploring the African coast, bringing home two hundred captives, who were now to be sold for the salvation of their souls and the profit of the mariners. The people of Lagos hurried out of town to the field where the sale and distribution were to take place. The captives were of all shades; but some of them,

as the Portuguese chronicler, Azurara, who witnessed the scene, reports, were "as black as moles, and so hideous in face and form as to suggest the idea that they were come from the lower regions." They knew enough, even then, to love one another with tender devotion; for, when the time came for each purchaser to take away his own, a scene ensued which melted the heart of the historian. No one seems to have thought of keeping families together, not even the prince, who was present on horseback, and magnanimously gave away on the spot the forty-six captives that fell to his share. He was of the very flower of middle age virtue—much the noblest of Europeans then alive, if not the noblest man of his period; and it was directly through him that the negro came to serve and perplex our modern world. From his "powerful horse" he looked down upon this scene, not unmoved, but never doubting the endless boon it was to these poor blacks to be brought within range of eternal salvation. "There was abundant tear-shedding," Azurara reports, "when the final separation came, and each proprietor took possession of his lot." Fathers and sons rushed from different groups into one another's embrace, and mothers threw themselves upon their infants and refused to give them up. The chronicler consoled himself by reflecting that this grief was but momentary compared with the endless joys of paradise thus made accessible to them; and he declares that he lived to see the children and grandchildren of those very captives, grown to maturity in Lagos, "as good and true Christians as those who had descended, generation by generation, from persons who had been baptized at the commencement of the Christian dispensation." That was not saying much for them, perhaps; for this devilish work went on, and upon the profits of it the expeditions were continued, which resulted at length in the sea-voyage to India and the discovery of a New World.

As we are now in the fourteenth generation since that scene occurred at Lagos, we ought by this time to know something about the negro. Among the primitive races brought to our knowledge through Prince Henry the Navigator and his pupils, the negro alone has given us reason to think that he can receive a civilization based upon industry; for he alone has shown himself capable of industry. The Indian seems to be an irreclaimable aristocrat. In war he is a soldier, in peace a sportsman;

capable of long-continued and agonizing toil only when a bear is to be shot, or a game won, or an enemy hunted down. He wants a lordly waste of park around his abode; he is a turner of night into day; he will gamble away all he has; he can conquer any foe better than his own propensities. He has eloquence, dignity, pride, courage, and a sense of honor. He can calmly stand at the wrong end of a loaded gun. He can bear twelve hours' roasting before a slow fire and not utter a sound. Still better, traders on the frontier give him a year's credit, and rarely lose by him. He dotes upon his children, and never strikes one of them when he is sober. He gets up late in the morning, sits long at dinner, delights in conversation, and surpasses in telling a story the most accomplished diner-out in Europe. Curiosity is one of his strongest feelings; but such is the politeness of this wild noble that he will not ask a stranger his name or errand until he has given him food, and allowed him ample time for enjoying it. He can wait; he can control his countenance, his tongue, everything but an appetite that destroys him. So like is he to his brother aristocrats in the Old World, that we cannot but think of him sometimes when we read of their doings in the hunting-field, the gambling-saloon, and the race-ground. But the Indian of pure blood will not work; and if you make him work he dies. He cannot receive our knowledge, for he is so credulous that a school is broken up if a medicine-man points a finger at the schoolmaster. In his heart he despises and abhors us, and would kill us all to-morrow if he could.

The negro, on the contrary, has not an aristocratic fibre in his frame; neither the virtues nor the vices of the aristrocrat are his. But he can work, he can love, and he can learn. He takes readily to the hoe and the spelling-book. He clings to the soil that bore him. He improved under slavery from generation to generation, and nowhere so rapidly as in the Southern States, for nowhere else was he treated so well as there. West Indian slavery was hell; Southern slavery was purgatory, that prepared him for the paradise of freedom. The negro did not come into civilization by the cabin-windows, but was tossed up on the forecastle, and has learned whatever he knows of the ropes by the rope's end. He has learned a good deal about the ropes, little as he yet knows of the quadrant and the chronometer.

The South is most happy in possessing him; for it is through his assistance that there will be the grand agriculture in the Southern States which cannot flourish unless there is a class to labor and individuals to contrive. The Northern farmer is surrounded by conditions not favorable to his improvement, for his task is excessively hard, Nature is not gracious to him, and efficient aid is beyond his means. The Southern farmer, by the black man's help, can be a "scholar and a gentleman," and at the same time secure and elevate the black man's life.

The cruelest stroke ever dealt the negro, since the time when he was torn from his native land, was hurling him all unprepared into politics. If this was designed as revenge upon the master, it was a masterpiece of malign policy. This it is that keeps antipathy alive, and postpones the day when white man and black man, equals before the law, shall loyally coöperate in extracting wealth and welfare from the Southern soil. Happily, we have not the choice whether gross ignorance shall be put out of politics, but only whether it shall be done by artifice, by violence, or by law; our fellow-citizens of the South being unanimously resolved not to submit to Tweedian government, which is knavery upheld by ignorance. Perhaps, through their resolute and temperate opposition, we, too, may rise to the height of suppressing the scallawag, and placing at the head of our cities and States their natural chiefs. When, in some fair and rational manner, undeveloped races and immature individuals have been withdrawn from the reach of the politician, with the glad consent of the industrious poor man, whose life has been made well-nigh insupportable by their conjunction, we shall soon cease to hear of a color-line; and, if any kind of antipathy remains, it will only be that which tends to the purity and dignity of both the races.

James Parton.

IX.

THE EMPEROR HADRIAN AND CHRISTIANITY.

I.

Trajan's health grew daily worse. He started for Rome, leaving the command of the army of Antioch to his cousin Hadrian, who was also his nephew by marriage. An internal inflammation obliged him to halt at Selinus (now Silinty), on the coast of Cilicia. He died at that place, on the 7th or 8th of August, A. D. 117, at the age of sixty-four. The situation was gloomy: the East was in open rebellion; the Mauritanians, the Britons, and the Sarmatians, were threatening to revolt; Judea, conquered but still seething, boded a new outbreak. A somewhat obscure intrigue, in which Plotina and Matidia appear to have been the leaders, gave the empire to Hadrian at this critical moment.

The choice was a happy one. Hadrian was a man of doubtful morality, but he was a great ruler. Brilliant, intellectual, and eager, his breadth of mind exceeded that of any other of the Cæsars. He did more to establish the empire than any ruler between Augustus and Diocletian. His administrative power was extraordinary. According to our modern standard, he governed too much, but he governed well. He definitely organized the imperial government: he marks an important epoch in the history of Roman law. Up to his time the ruler's house had been that of the first person in the state, consisting, like any other household, of slaves, freedmen, and private secretaries. Hadrian organized the palace; it was necessary to be a knight in order to hold office there, and the servants of Cæsar's household became functionaries. A distinct qualification was given to the permanent council of the sovereign, which consisted chiefly of men skilled in the law; the senators especially attached to the

government were already called *comites;* business was transacted through officers who were in part constituted by the senate, and not directly by the will of the ruler. The government was still despotic, but it was a despotism analogous to that of the early French monarchy, tempered by councils, by *comites*, and by independent magistrates. The social improvement was still more important. A great and noble spirit of true liberality and humanity was apparent in everything; the position of the slave received protection; the condition of women was improved; the excesses of paternal authority were restricted, and the lingering remains of human sacrifices were abolished. The emperor's personal character was in accordance with these reforms. He was full of affability to those beneath him, and would not permit his rank to deprive him of his highest pleasure—the right of pleasing others.

He had, with all his faults, a ready, open, original mind. He loved Epictetus, and understood him, without, however, feeling compelled to follow all his precepts. Nothing escaped him; he wished to be informed of everything. Free from the exclusiveness and prejudice which deprived the genuine Roman of any knowledge of the rest of the world, Hadrian had a taste for what was foreign, which he enjoyed and lightly criticised. He was especially attracted to the East. He saw and was amused by its impostures and charlatanism. He became acquainted with all its absurdities; he manufactured oracles, compounded antidotes, and ridiculed medicine. He was, like Nero, a man of letters, and an artist on the throne. His capacity for painting, sculpture, and architecture, was surprising, and he composed pretty verses, but his taste was not pure; he had his favorite actors, and peculiar preferences. His learning, in fact, was superficial, his architecture theatrical. He accepted no religion, no philosophy, nor did he deny any of them. His fine powers of mind vacillated like a weathercock, the sport of every wind; he may be judged by the graceful adieu to life which he muttered a few moments before his death:

"Animula vagula, blandula . . . ."

All his researches ended in a jest, all his inquiries in a smile. Even the empire rendered him only half serious; his easy, un-

constrained manner was that of the most variable and unstable man who ever lived.

It was this habit of mind which made him tolerant. He did not annul the restrictive laws which, although not directly aimed at Christianity, kept it in constant antagonism; he allowed them to be put in practice more than once, but their effect was weakened by his influence. In this respect he excelled Trajan, who, without being a philosopher, had a clearly-defined theory of government, and he was also superior to Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius, men of principle, who thought persecution justifiable. Hadrian's lax morals were of service in this respect. It is characteristic of a monarch that his faults should be of more service to the commonwealth than his virtues. The levity of a mocking wit, of a crowned Lucian, who looked on life as an idle game, was more favorable to liberty than the earnest gravity and high morality of accomplished emperors.

It was Hadrian's first care to modify the troublesome inheritance he had received from Trajan. Hadrian was a distinguished military writer, but not a military leader. He clearly perceived the impossibility of retaining the newly-conquered provinces, Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria, and he abandoned them. It was, indeed, a solemn hour in which the Roman eagles retreated for the first time, and the Roman Empire admitted that she had gone too far; but the action was wise. Parthia, as well as Germany, was inaccessible to the Romans. Great expeditions, like those of Crassus, of Trajan, and of Julian, all failed, while expeditions of a more limited scope attained their object, as in the case of Lucius Verus and Septinius Severus, who did not attempt to overthrow the Parthian Empire, but only to detach from it the tributary provinces which were nearest to the Roman Empire. A withdrawal so humiliating to the pride of Rome was rendered doubly difficult by the uncertainty which brooded over Hadrian's adoption by Trajan. Lucius Quietus and Martius Turbo derived a title almost as valid as his own from the last commissions they had held. Quietus was killed, and it may be assumed that the Jews, ever on the watch for evidence of the vengeance of Heaven in the death of their enemies, saw in his tragical end a punishment of the evil his savage ferocity had brought upon them.

It was a whole year before Hadrian returned to Rome, so that he at once adopted the vagrant habits which made his reign a perpetual tour through the provinces of the empire. He devoted the following year, fertile in constitutional reforms, to the gravest cares of administration, and then set out on a tour in which he visited successively Gaul, the banks of the Rhine, Britain, Spain, Mauritania, and Carthage. This variety and his antiquarian tastes led him to indulge the fancy of becoming the founder of cities, and the restorer of ancient remains. Besides, he wished to avoid the reaction of garrison-life for his soldiers, and he found occupation for them in great public works. This prompted the innumerable constructions which date from Hadrian's reign—roads, harbors, theatres, and temples. He was surrounded by a crowd of architects, engineers, and artists, disciplined like a legion. Everything in the provinces which he visited was renewed and infused with fresh life. At the emperor's suggestion companies were formed to collect funds for these great works, in which the state usually took shares. If a town were in any degree famous, if it had been mentioned by classical authors, it was sure to be restored by the antiquarian Cæsar. It was for this reason that he embellished Carthage and added a new quarter to it; on every side, towns which had disappeared, or had fallen from their ancient grandeur, arose from their ruins and were called *Colonia Ælia Hadriana.*

After a short stay at Rome, where he caused a smaller area to be inclosed by the *pomœrium*, he set out in the course of the year 121 on a much longer journey, which lasted for four years and a half, since he traveled all through the East. This journey was even more successful than the former one. It was as if the old world was restored to life beneath the steps of a beneficent god. Hadrian, who was remarkably well acquainted with ancient history, wished to see everything, he was interested in everything, and desired to restore all to its former condition. Men sought to please him by reviving the lost arts: a Neo-Egyptian style came into vogue, and a Neo-Phœnician style was also attempted; cities began once more to put Phœnician legends on their coins. Philosophers, rhetoricians, and critics, flocked around Hadrian, who seemed to be another Nero, without his madness. The revival of a number of ancient and extinct civilizations was at-

tempted, not practically, but in the writings of archæologists and historians. It was in this way that Herennius Philo of Byblos tried, probably at the direct instigation of the emperor, to discover the ancient Phœnicia. Feasts, called Hadrian games, were reinstituted by the Greeks, recalling for the last time the brilliant side of their former life; it was like a general revival of the ancient world; every country included in the great Roman Empire found once more its title to nobility and clung to it. The study of this singular spectacle recalls the sort of resurrection of the dead which took place in our own age when, in a moment of universal benevolence, everything was restored, Gothic churches were rebuilt, pilgrimages fallen into disuse were reëstablished, feast-days and ancient usages were once more observed.

Hadrian, whose culture was Greek rather than Roman, favored this eclectic movement, and largely contributed to it. His work in Asia Minor was truly wonderful. Cyzica, Nicæa, and Nicomedia, were restored by his efforts; temples of the finest architecture are an undying memorial of the cultured ruler who seemed to desire that the renewal of the world's youth should date from his era. Nor was Syria less favored. It was owing to him that Antioch and Daphne became the most delightful abodes in the world; every combination of picturesque architecture, all the fancies of landscape-gardening, and marvels of hydraulic power, were lavished upon it. Palmyra itself was partially restored by this imperial architect, and it received, in common with many other cities, the name of Hadrianopolis.

The world had never been so full of enjoyment and hope. There was scarcely a foreboding of the barbarians beyond the Rhine and the Danube. The emperor's liberal spirit diffused a general sense of ease. The Jews themselves were divided. Those who inhabited the villages to the south of Jerusalem were possessed with gloomy rage. They had but one idea—to restore by force the city they were forbidden to enter, and to render its former honors to the hill chosen of God. As for the more moderate sects, and especially the survivors of those who had suffered in Egypt under Trajan, who were half Christian and Essenian, they had at first no dislike to Hadrian. They were able to fancy that he had condemned Quietus to death as the punishment of his cruelties toward the Jews. They could enter-

tain the hope of seeing the eclectic emperor undertake the restoration of Israel as one whim among so many others. A pious Alexandrian attempted to inculcate these ideas in the form already consecrated by success. He assumed that a sibyl, the sister of Isis, had had obscure intimations of the trials reserved for these later ages.

II.

The hatred of Rome is at once declared: "O virgin, tender and luxurious daughter of Rome, degraded to the rank of a slave drunk with wine, for what a marriage art thou reserved! How often shall a harsh mistress tear thy soft hair!" The author, at once Jewish and Christian, regards Rome as the natural enemy of the saints. Hadrian alone obtains from him the tribute of a genuine admiration. After enumerating the Roman emperors, from Julius Cæsar to Trajan, by means of the ambigorical process of the *ghemabria*, the sibyl sees the advent on the throne of "a man with a silver head, whose name shall be that of a sea. None shall equal his perfection, and he shall know all things. It is in thy reign, O excellent, exalted, and brilliant ruler, and in that of thy offspring, that the things I am about to tell shall take place."

The sibyl, according to custom, went on to reveal the most sombre images: all scourges were let loose together, and men became wholly evil. These were the throes which gave birth to the Messiah. Nero, who had been dead for fifty years, was still a nightmare to the author. This terrible serpent, this actor and murderer of his kindred, the slayer of the chosen people, the kindler of endless wars, would come to equal himself to God. After withdrawing to the land of the Medes and Persians, he brooded over the darkest schemes. Transported through the air by the Fates, he will soon return to be the scourge of the West. The author sends forth a still more furious invective against Rome: "Irritable, perverse, reserved for the direst fate, the beginning and end of all suffering, since it is in thy bosom that creation continually perishes and is reborn, source of evil, scourge, the point in which mortals cease to be, what man has ever loved thee? Who does not detest thee in his heart? What dethroned king has ended his life in peace in thy midst? The world has

been changed through thee in its inmost recesses. . . . Formerly there was in the heart of humanity the brilliant sunlight, the radiance of the prophetic spirit, which brought sustenance and life to all. Thou hast destroyed these good things. For this cause, O arrogant mistress, origin and cause of the greatest evils, the sword and destruction shall fall upon thee in that day. Listen, then, O scourge of men, to the harsh voice which predicts thy ill-fortune."

A divine race of blessed Jews sent from heaven were to inhabit Jerusalem, which was to extend from its present site to Jaffa, and was to be raised to the clouds. There were to be no more trumpets, no more wars; on every side everlasting trophies should arise, trophies to celebrate the victory over evil: "Then shall descend from heaven a marvelous man, who has stretched forth his arms on a fruitful tree: he who is best among Hebrews, who formerly caused the sun to stand still by his noble words and holy life." By this Jesus is undoubtedly meant, allegorically representing, in his crucifixion, Moses with his hands stretched out, and Joshua.

"Cease now to tear thy heart, daughter of a divine race, precious one, beloved flower, light of beauty, exquisite plant, cherished germ, gracious and fair city of Judea, ever filled with the sound of inspired hymns. The impure foot of the Greeks, whose hearts have plotted against thee, shall no more press thy soil: thou shalt be surrounded by the homage of thy children, who will prepare a table in accordance with the sacred oracles, with sacrifices of every kind, and pious prayers. Then shall the just, who have suffered the torments of anguish, enjoy more happiness than the evil they have endured. Those, on the other hand, who have uttered sacrilegious blasphemies against Heaven, shall be constrained to hide themselves in silence until the face of the world be changed. The clouds will rain fire; men shall no more gather in the sweet fruits of the earth: there shall be neither seed-time nor labor until men recognize the supreme, immortal, eternal God, until they cease to worship corruptible things, dogs and vultures, to which Egypt has offered the homage of profane mouths and senseless lips. The sacred land of the Hebrews shall alone bring forth the things refused to other men: rivers of honey shall flow from rocks and springs, ambrosial milk

shall be poured forth for the just, who have trusted with ardent piety and living faith in one God, Father of all, sole and supreme."

At last the fugitive parricide, whose coming has been three times foretold, appears upon the scene. He is a monster who deluges the earth with blood. He takes the city of Rome and kindles such a conflagration there as was never seen before. A general destruction follows: all the kings and nobles perish, and this is all to prepare for the peace of the righteous, that is to say, of Jews and Christians. The author's joy in the ruin of Rome breaks forth for the third time: "Parricides, lay aside your haughtiness and guilty pride, ye who have reserved children for your dishonorable caresses, who have exposed pure damsels to violence and contempt. . . . Be silent, ill-fated and evil city, once full of laughter. The sacred virgins shall no more find within thee the divine fire which they foster, for the fire so carefully preserved was extinguished, when I beheld for the second time the overthrow of another temple—the temple of everlasting beauty, the abiding sanctuary of God, built by the saints and incorruptible forever, which was burned by defiled hands. It is no god of common clay which this people worship: it is no marble image, fashioned by a clever workman; nor do they bow down before gold which leads the soul astray. They honor with sacrifices and hecatombs the great God by whose breath all things have their being."

A chosen man, the Messiah, descends from heaven, overthrows the heathen, rebuilds the beloved city of God, which shines more brightly than the sun, establishes a temple there, and a lofty tower, rising to the clouds, so that all the faithful may see the glory of God. The sites of ancient civilization, Babylon, Egypt, Greece, and Rome, successively disappear; the colossal buildings of Egypt in particular are overthrown and strewed upon the ground; but one of her priests, clothed in linen vestments, converts his companions, and causes them to forsake their old rites and build a temple to the true God. This does not arrest the end of the ancient world. The constellations are dashed against each other; the heavenly bodies fall on the earth, and leave the sky untenanted.

In Hadrian's reign, therefore, there remained a handful of

pious monotheists in Egypt, who held the Hebrews to be the specially righteous and holy people; in whose eyes the destruction of the temple at Jerusalem was an unpardonable sin, and the true cause of the ruin of the Roman Empire. These men cherished a feeling of hatred and bitterness toward the Flavii; they hoped for the restoration of the temple and of Jerusalem; they thought of the Messiah as of a man chosen of God, and saw the Messiah in Jesus, and they read the Apocalypse of John. Egypt has long accustomed us to peculiarities in Jewish and Christian history; its development in this respect was not synchronous with that of the rest of the world. Such expressions as we have just cited would not find an echo, either in pure Judaism, or in the writings of St. Paul. Judea would not have consented, even for an hour, to regard Hadrian as the best of men, and to found such hopes upon him.

III.

When traveling in Syria, Hadrian saw the former site of Jerusalem. For the last fifty-two years the city had been sitting desolate, with nothing to be seen but a heap of huge, displaced blocks thrown one upon another. Some groups of mean dwellings, Christian for the most part, were all that marked the outline of the top of Sion. The site of the temple was filled with jackals. On one occasion, when Rabbi Aquila made a pilgrimage thither with some of his companions, one of these animals escaped from its hole and disturbed their prayer.

These ruins inspired Hadrian with the sentiment aroused by all ruins—the desire of rebuilding the ruined city, of colonizing it, of giving to it his own name, or that of his family. In this way Judea might be cultivated again. Jerusalem, when it was once more a stronghold in the hands of the Romans, must serve to keep the Jewish population in check. Since all the Syrian towns—Gerazus, Damascus, Gaza, and Petra—were rebuilt in the Roman style, were beginning new eras, and adopting the name of this errant god, Jerusalem was too famous to be the exception to this historical revival and universal renovation.

It is probable that if the Jews had been less consistent to their ideal, if there had been among them some Philo of Byblos to represent the past history of the Jews as simply a glorious and

interesting variety amid the several literatures, religions, and philosophies of humanity, the inquiring and intelligent Hadrian would have been delighted, and would have rebuilt the temple, not precisely in the way the Jewish doctors wished, but in his eclectic fashion, as an admirer of ancient religions. The Talmud is full of Hadrian's conversations with celebrated rabbis, conversations which are certainly fictitious, but which are in harmony with the emperor's character as a wit, a converser, an inquirer, curious about strange matters, eager to know everything, if only to turn it into ridicule. But toleration is the greatest offense to the dogmatic. In this respect the Jews were like the enthusiastic Catholics of our day. The strength of their convictions does not allow them to take a reasonable share: they claim the whole. It is an insult to the religion which is held to be the one truth to be treated as a sect among so many others: it is better to be proscribed and persecuted, for this violence is a sign of its divine origin. Persecution is pleasing to believers, who find in the fact that they are hated of men a sign of revealed truth, since the wickedness of man is naturally opposed to this truth.

There is no proof that Hadrian, when he desired to rebuild Jerusalem, took counsel with the Jews, or sought to put himself in agreement with them. Nor is there any reason to believe that he had anything to do with the Christians of Palestine, who had less to distinguish them outwardly from the Jews than the Christians of other countries. To the Christians the prophecies of Jesus would have been falsified by the rebuilding of the temple. The Jews, on the contrary, all looked forward to its restoration. Judaism, without the temple of Jahveh, seemed to be a brief anarchy. Usages which assumed that the temple was still standing were retained. The tithes were still paid to the priests; the precepts of Levitical purity were still strictly observed; the obligatory sacrifices were only in abeyance until the temple should be rebuilt. But its restoration could be effected by the Jews alone; the least omission of the form prescribed by the law would have sufficed to call forth the cry of sacrilege. It seemed better, in the opinion of pious Israelites, that wild beasts should inhabit the sanctuary than that its restoration should be due to a profane mocker, who, after having rebuilt it, would not have failed to utter an epigram on the strange gods whose altars he had restored.

Jerusalem seemed to the Jews hardly less sacred than the temple. Indeed, the two were scarcely distinguished, and from that time the city was called *Beth Hamigdas*. The *Hasidim* were furious when they learned that the city of God was to be rebuilt without them. The massacres of Quietus and Turbo had only just occurred. An extraordinary terror brooded over the Jews; resistance was impossible; yet from that time a revolution more terrible than those which had preceded it seemed to be at hand.

It was probably in A. D. 122 that Hadrian issued his orders, and the restoration was begun. The new population was chiefly composed of discharged soldiers and foreigners. Doubtless there was no occasion for expelling the Jews, since their own sentiments sufficed to make them avoid the city. On the other hand, the Christians appear to have returned to the city with some eagerness as soon as it was habitable. The new town was divided into seven quarters, each directed by an amphidarch. The immense foundations of the temple, which were still in existence, suggested that site for the principal temple of the new city. Hadrian was careful that the temples erected in the Eastern provinces should recall the worship of Rome and the bond between the provinces and the metropolis. In order to indicate Rome's triumph over a local worship, the temple was dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus, the supreme god in Rome, whose attitude and solemn bearing were suggestive of Jahveh, and to whom the Jews had paid tribute since Vespasian's time. The building had four columns; and, like most of the temples erected in Syria in Hadrian's time, the front entablature was interrupted by an arcade, beneath which the god's colossal statue was placed.

The founder of the colony enforced the worship of Venus as well as of Jupiter. Hadrian caused temples dedicated to this tutelary divinity of Rome to be erected everywhere, and the most important of those built by himself was the great temple of Venus and Rome, of which the remains may still be seen near the Coliseum. It was natural that Jerusalem should have its temple of Venus and Rome beside the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. It so chanced that this second temple was not far from Golgotha. This afterward gave the Christians cause for singular reflections. The neighborhood of the two sites seemed to them an offense to

Christianity, which was certainly undesigned by Hadrian. The work made slow progress, and when Hadrian resumed his journey to the West, two years later, the new *Colonia Ælia Capitolina* was more of an intention than a reality.

For a long while there was a singular rumor in circulation among the Christians, to the effect that a Greek from Sinope, named Aquila, who had been appointed overseer of the works for rebuilding Ælia by Hadrian, became acquainted with some disciples of the apostles at Jerusalem, and was so struck by their piety and miracles that he demanded baptism. But a change in morals did not follow that of faith. Aquila was addicted to the follies of judicial astronomy; he cast his horoscope daily, and passed for a man of the highest learning in these matters. The Christians disapproved of such practices; the leaders of the Church remonstrated with their new convert, who disregarded the opinion of the Church, and continued obstinate. Astrology involved him in serious errors concerning destiny and fate. This irregular genius wished to unite things incompatible with each other, and the Church declared him to be unworthy of salvation, and expelled him from the community, which he deeply resented. His relations with Hadrian may account for that emperor's special acquaintance with the Christian rites.

IV.

Toleration prevailed at this time. Colleges and religious societies were everywhere increasing in number. In A. D. 124 the emperor received a letter from Quintus Licinius Silvanus Granianus, Proconsul of Asia, written in a spirit resembling that which dictated Pliny's fine letter from a virtuous man. The more earnest Roman officials were averse to a procedure which implied that guilt was involved in the very name men bore. Granianus showed the injustice of condemning the Christians on vague rumors, which sprang from the popular imagination, although they were convicted of no crime except of their profession of Christianity. When the allotment of consular provinces took place soon afterward, Granianus was succeeded by Caius Minicius Fundanus, a philosopher and distinguished man of letters, and a friend of Pliny and Plutarch, who appears as a speaker

in one of his philosophic dialogues. Hadrian replied to Fundanus by the following rescript: *

"A. Minicius Fundanus: I have received the letter addressed to me by your illustrious predecessor, Licinius Granianus. It appears to me that the matter cannot be left without inquiry, lest people otherwise peaceable may be disquieted, and a way may be opened to sycophants. If, therefore, the inhabitants of your province have, as they assert, any substantial accusation against the Christians, and if they can prove their accusation before the tribunal, let them pursue the legal course, and not be satisfied with questions and tumultuous cries. It would be far better to investigate any accusation brought before you. If a prosecutor comes forward to prove that the Christians do anything contrary to the laws, give sentence according to the seriousness of the offense. But, again, by Hercules, if any one makes this a pretext for calumnies, be observant of such a misdeed, and punish him severely!"

Hadrian seems to have replied in the same manner to other inquiries of the same kind. Men were denounced everywhere: the trade was profitable, since the informer received part of the goods of the condemned man. In Asia especially the provincial gatherings, which included games, usually ended with executions. The mob nearly always demanded the death of some unfortunate victims to crown the feast. The emperor opposed these cruelties as far as he could; the laws of the empire were really in fault, since they gave substance to vague accusations which the caprice of the multitude interpreted as they pleased.

Hadrian passed the winter of 125–126 at Athens, and it was in this meeting-place of all men of culture that he felt the keenest enjoyment. Greece had become a kind of plaything with which the Roman men of letters amused themselves. Reassured as to its political consequences, they assumed the liberality which cost them nothing by restoring the Pnyx, the assembly of the people, the Areopagus; they erected statues to the great men of old, they attempted to replace the old constitutions, to reproduce

* Several critics have raised objections to the authenticity of this letter. Hadrian's rescript has not the same warrant for its authenticity as Pliny's letter, since it does not appear in heathen records. In order to make it equally authentic, we should have the official record of Hadrian's letters respecting his government, and it should include the latter to Minicius Fundanus. Yet we have good reasons for regarding this document as authentic.

Panhellenism, and the confederation of cities with a semblance of freedom. Athens was the centre of these childish attempts. Enlightened Mæcenases were not wanting—Herod Atticus in particular, one of the most intellectual men of his time, and the Philopappi, the last descendants of the kings of Comagenis and of the Seleucidæ, who erected a monument on the Museum Hill which is still extant. Hadrian was quite in his element in this circle of teachers, philosophers, and men of genius. His vanity, his talents, his taste for brilliant conversation, were gratified when he was surrounded by congenial companions whom he honored by placing himself on a level with them, although he did not really renounce any of his prerogatives. He was an able opponent, and imagined that the success which he always obtained in argument was only due to his personal qualities. Those were to be pitied who offended him, or who were victorious in the argument. His latent resemblance to Nero, however ably concealed, was then revealed. He founded an incalculable number of chairs, and he was equally lavish in literary pensions. He gravely assumed the titles of archon and agonothetes. He himself made a constitution for Athens, combining the laws of Solon and those of Draco in equal doses, and he wished to see if it could work. The city was wholly restored. The temple of Olympian Jupiter, near the Ilissus, which had been begun by Pisistratus, was one of the marvels of the world; it was now completed, and the emperor assumed the title of the Olympian. Within the city, a vast square, consisting of temples, porticoes, gymnasia, and places for public instruction, date from Hadrian's time. These are far from possessing the perfection of the Acropolis; but they exceed all which preceded them in rare marbles and rich decorations. A central Pantheon contained the catalogue of the temples built, repaired, or decorated by Hadrian, and of the gifts bestowed both on Greek and barbarian cities. On an arch which is still extant, Hadrian was compared to Theseus, and one quarter of Athens received the name of Hadrianopolis.

Hadrian's intellectual activity was sincere, but he lacked the scientific spirit. All questions, divine and human, were discussed in these reunions of sophists; none was resolved. It does not appear that rationalism was completely accepted, and in Greece the emperor was regarded as a very religious and even superstí-

tious man. He chose to be initiated in the mysteries of Eleusis. It was paganism, in fact, which benefited from his course of action, although, since liberty of discussion is good in itself, it had some good results. His secretary, Phlegon, may have had a certain acquaintance with the legend of Jesus. The wide development of the spirit of controversy under Hadrian gave rise to a new species of Christian literature, which was about to throw a vivid light on the coming age.

V.

Christianity, preached at Athens seventy-two years before, had borne fruit there. The church at Athens had not the continuity and stability of some other churches; it was its special characteristic to produce individual Christian thinkers, and the apologetic art had its origin at Athens.

Several of those men distinguished as "philosophers" had accepted the teaching of Jesus. The name of philosopher indicated a serious demeanor and a peculiar dress, a sort of cloak, which exposed its wearers, sometimes to ridicule, but more often to the respectful homage of passers-by. The philosophers who embraced Christianity did not abandon their designation and dress, and this led to the formation of a class of Christians hitherto unknown. Since they were authors and orators by profession, these converted philosophers at once became the doctors and controversialists of the sect. Versed in Greek culture, they had a greater aptitude for reasoning and argument than the purely apostolic preachers. It is a solemn moment which marks the advent of full consciousness. From that time, Christianity had its advocates; they argued, and were met by argument. The government saw that they were of greater importance than devout and simple men of Eastern superstition. Until now, Christianity had not directly appealed to Rome to deliver it from the false position in which it was placed. None of the preceding emperors had provoked such explanations by their character, since the petition would undoubtedly have been rejected, and no one would have read it. Hadrian's inquisitive temper and open mind, the thought that he would be pleased by hearing of some new fact or argument, encouraged overtures which would have been purposeless in Trajan's time. Combined with this belief, there

was an aristocratic feeling, flattering alike to the ruler and the apologist. Christianity had already begun to display the policy which she has constantly pursued since the fourth century, and which consists in treating with sovereigns above the heads of the people. "We are willing to enter into controversy with you, but the common people are not entitled to hear our reasons."

The first attempt of the kind was the work of one Quadratus, a man of importance in the third generation of Christians, and who was even asserted to have been a disciple of the apostles. Quadratus presented an Apology for Christianity to the emperor, which has perished, but it was highly esteemed in the early ages. He complained of the suspicions cast on the faithful by "evil men," and proved that their faith could hurt no one. He went further, and attempted to convert Hadrian by arguments drawn from the miracles of Jesus. Quadratus asserted that some of the men who had been healed or raised from the dead by Jesus were still living. Hadrian would certainly have been pleased to see some of these venerable centenarians, and his freedman, Phlegon, might have made use of them in his treatise on "Cases of Longevity," but he would not have been convinced. He had witnessed many miracles, and had only drawn from them the conclusion that there are an infinite number of incredible things in the world. Phlegon, in his teratological researches, had introduced several of the miracles of Jesus, and Hadrian must certainly have conversed with him sometimes on the subject.

Another Apology, of which Aristides, an Athenian philosopher and a convert to Christianity, was the author, was also presented to Hadrian. We know nothing about it, except that it was held in the same estimation as the treatise by Quadratus. Those who read it admired the wit and eloquence of the author, and the good use he made of passages from pagan philosophers in order to prove the truth of the doctrine of Jesus.

These writings were striking from their novelty, and must have had some effect on the emperor. Singular notions respecting religion crossed his mind, and he seems more than once to have shown symptoms of genuine respect for Christianity. He ordered the erection of a number of temples or basilicas, of which the inscription and object are not distinctly known. These temples or basilicas, which remain incomplete or undedicated, only

bear the name of Hadrian. Destitute of images as the temples are, it seems credible that they were so built by Hadrian's express desire. In the third century, when Alexander Severus really wished to build a temple to Christ, the Christians diffused the idea that Hadrian had wished to do the same, and that the *Hadriana* ought to contribute to the installation of the new worship. They asserted that Hadrian only stopped short after he had consulted the sacred oracles, which declared that if such a temple were built the world would become Christian, so that the other temples would be deserted. Several of the *Hadriana*, particularly those of Tiberias and Alexandria, were in fact used as churches in the fourth century.

Even Hadrian's relations with Antinous became a theme for Christian apology. Such a monstrous act seemed to be the culminating point of the reign of Satan. This last demon, of whom every one had heard, was employed to overthrow the other gods, which were more ancient and less easy to reach. Hadrian's era was subsequently regarded as the luminous apex of a splendid epoch, in which the truth of Christianity was manifest to all eyes. There was a feeling of attachment to the ruler whose good and bad qualities alike had had such favorable results. Men did not forget his immorality, his superstitions, his initiation into impure mysteries; but, in spite of all these things, Hadrian, at any rate in the estimation of some of the Christians, was regarded as an earnest man, endowed with rare virtues, who devoted the last and finest part of his life to mankind.

Ernest Rénan.

X.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

1.—*A Popular History of the United States.* Vols. I. and II. By William Cullen Bryant and Sidney Howard Gay. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1876–'78.

These are very handsome volumes. In typography, paper, binding, and especially in pictorial illustration, they are all that the public can desire.

The style in which the work is got up, together with the title, "A Popular History," would lead one to suppose at first that it is no more than a compilation similar to many compends, of which the matter is borrowed from existing histories; for example, that pictorial history of the United States which came about twenty-five years ago from the pen of the late Mr. S. G. Goodrich, who had gained respect and popularity under the *nom de plume* of Peter Parley. It would be a great mistake, however, to rank the present history with such popular publications. Mr. Bryant, in his preface to the first volume, informs us that "it is not the authors' design to treat their subject as is done in these compends. Unlike these, their work is not a compilation from histories already written, but in its narrative of events, and its representation of the state of the country at different epochs, it has derived its materials, through independent research, from original sources." And Mr. Gay, in his preface to the second volume, which has appeared two years after the first, repeats the assurance that "it was not meant, by the use of the term popular, to imply, as is so often the case, that this was to be a merely superficial work—a compilation of other general histories. Its purpose is to commend it, by its method, its treatment, the historical aspects to be presented, to the popular reader—that large class in this country who seek repose and recreation in general literary culture, but with whom literature is not the business of life. But by no means is it intended to sacrifice to that purpose either accuracy or comprehensiveness; nor to

disregard the approbation of the few, who are learned in history, and whose judgment upon a work of this sort is the test of real value, in the attempt to write an entertaining narrative." We most willingly acknowledge that these promises have been fairly fulfilled. The narrative is entertaining and the style attractive. What share Mr. Bryant had in the writing of the history, we can only infer from the work and its prefaces. It would appear that he revised the proof-sheets, which, considering his long experience in such work, was no small advantage; but there is no evidence that he actually wrote more than the preface to the whole history—an instructive essay on the abolition of slavery. This, however, with his general superintendence of the work, may justify the appearance of his very attractive name on the title-pages and the backs of the volumes. Perhaps Mr. Bryant's collaborator depended a little too much on his trained critical eye, for, along with general excellence, the books present instances of carelessness which ought to be amended in a second edition. Mr. Gay will forgive us, even if he is not thankful to us, for noting a few errors in statement, mistakes in grammar, and obscurities in expression, which will show him the necessity of greater care in the production of the first reprint. The work is too valuable to remain dormant. Many a reissue will undoubtedly be demanded.

At page 33, vol. i., line nine, it is said that, "early in 1623, Gorges for the first time got a special grant for himself from the company, of which he was so indefatigable a member." The date of Gorges's patent was August 10, 1622 (*see* Bancroft, vol. i., page 328). At page 336, vol. i., line ten, we find, "In 1631, when the settlements in Laconia on the Piscataqua were eight years old, Mason and Gorges divided their grant," etc. This partition was made in 1629 (*see* Hildreth, vol. i., page 200). At page 490, vol. i., line two, it is said that the whole number of assembled emigrants, including servants and laborers, was nearly or not quite three hundred. The number should be two hundred (*see* Bancroft, vol. i., page 245). So much for examples of error in statement; are they the result of independent investigation? For instances of mistakes in grammar the following will suffice. Vol. i., page 502, line four: "The chief of the surviving Virginians seem to have been held by the Maryland officers for trial; the captured boat [seem] to have been carried to St. Mary's." Vol. i., page 431, line three: "No man or woman, son or daughter, man-servant or maid-servant, could leave a patroon's service during

the time *they* had agreed to remain;" reminding us of such speeches as this: "Every passenger must show *their* tickets as *they* go ashore!" Obscurity or inelegance of expression occurs on page 458, vol. i., at the top: "Even at the outposts of Fort Amsterdam men were wounded by the shots of the lurking savages, *who* might, had they known their own power, have exterminated the whites, *who*, in the universal terror, were almost incapable of resistance." On page 7 of Mr. Gay's preface, at the top: "We have received still further and constant *aid* from the latter gentleman, in *help* in the selection and arrangement of illustrations," etc.; on page 2, vol. ii., line twenty-five: "The problem was simplified, for a time at least, *to how* these heathen could be most easily and most *effectually killed;*" on page 10, vol. ii., second line from bottom: "Some of the Puritans held that, *as certainly* as they were the special care of Heaven, so, *as unquestionably*, the Indians were the children of the devil;" and on page 575, vol. ii., line three: "On this plate he *inscribed*, he *asserted* the right of Queen Elizabeth and her successors to that kingdom," etc. But these cases of carelessness are enough for illustration. We have marked many more. Our allotted space, however, is exhausted, and we must conclude with the hope that, when the future volumes of this handsome work shall appear, no such strictures as we have now ventured on will be necessary. Let us add in a word the question, "Have the authors in the first volume, at pages 273, 275, 279, and 287, done justice to Captain John Smith?"

2.—*The Problem of the Homeric Poems.* By WILLIAM D. GEDDES, LL. D., Professor of Greek in the University of Aberdeen, Scotland. London: Macmillan & Co. 1878.—*Greek Literature.* By R. C. JEBB, M. A., Professor of Greek in the University of Glasgow, Scotland. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1878.—*Homer.* By the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, Honorary Student of Christ Church, Oxford. D. Appleton & Co. 1878.

IT is not more than fifty years since the state of Greek literature in Scotland was such as to reflect no credit on the nation. Latin had always been the favorite study from the days of George Buchanan, who was tutor to King James VI., whose effigy adorns the title-page of *Blackwood's Magazine*, whose "History of Scotland" rivals the Latinity of Livy, and whose poems, written in Latin, rank him as the first British poet of his age. The parochial schoolmasters were always respectable Latin scholars, and sent up

to the four national universities students as well prepared in that language, with the exception of verse-making, as any that entered the two richer and more famous universities of England. The biographies of our Revolutionary sires show us that many or most of them studied Latin under Scotchmen, and for many generations Ruddiman's Latin rules for genders and flexions, and not those of the Eton grammar, were the *vade-mecum* of American schoolboys. But in Greek the case was widely different. Dalziel, and his successor, Dunbar, in the University of Edinburgh, prepared with notes some volumes of extracts from the Greek classics, called "Collectanea," which were long used in the United States, where the Scottish influence still predominated; and those collections were the not very high standard of Greek scholarship in North Britain as late as 1825. Nearly one-half of the students of Scotland went to college without knowing the Greek letters; and the Greek professors, such as they were, found themselves condemned to the drudgery of drilling these in the lowest rudiments of the language. Such a state of things was disgraceful. Oxonians and Cantabs twitted the Scotch with knowing no Greek and little Latin; and unless when some celebrated lecturer like Dugald Stewart at Edinburgh, Thomas Reid at Glasgow, and Thomas Chalmers at St. Andrews, attracted students from afar, few Englishmen ever crossed the northern border to be educated. The University of Glasgow was the first to feel the inferiority so far as to attempt a remedy. Sir Daniel Sandford led the way. Under him studied Tait, the present Archbishop of Canterbury, and Halley, who "beat Tait." Sandford was followed by Lushington, and Lushington by Jebb, the present professor. At Edinburgh the Greek chair is now occupied by the renowned scholar and poet, John Stuart Blackie. At St. Andrews the chair of Greek is filled by Lewis Campbell, LL. D., the accomplished editor of "Sophocles;" and at Aberdeen by Dr. Geddes, whose elaborate treatise on the Homeric question is now under our review, and proves that Aberdeen, in the far northeast, is in Greek not a whit behind the more southern universities of Scotland, and fully up to the mark of any university in Europe.

This retrospect of classical study in Scotland has been suggested by the fact that two of the books whose titles stand rubric to this notice are by Scotch professors, while the third is the work of a Scotchman's son. All three are very able productions. In such brief and elementary treatises as the "Literature Primers," edited by Mr. John Richard Green, M. A., of which series are the little

volumes by Prof. Jebb and Mr. Gladstone, we cannot expect much more than the results of study. Yet these are evidently the results of extensive and profound scholarship; and in many cases the methods of investigation are so clearly indicated as to afford the means of testing their accuracy. Especially on the Homeric problem are detailed the authorities and arguments on which the decision of the question depends.

The Greeks themselves, and indeed all civilized men up to the close of the eighteenth century, were nearly unanimous in believing the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey" to be the work of one man, called Homer. Toward the close of the reign of Pisistratus, at Athens (B. C. 537–527), he appointed a commission of learned men, presided over by the poet Onomacritus, to collect the poems of Homer. It is generally supposed that an "Iliad" and an "Odyssey" existed in writing as early as that epoch, but that the text had become deranged, and was mixed up with other poems then popularly ascribed to Homer. The task of the commissioners was to collect and collate all these verses. From this collection our present Greek epics were formed; and not until about 170 B. C. did any doubt arise as to their authenticity and genuineness. At that time a grammarian of Alexandria, called Hellanicus, and one Xenon, asserted that Homer was the author of the "Iliad" only, and not of the "Odyssey." These men and their followers were called Chorizontés—separators—because they separated the two poems in their origin. The adherents of the separators were few; and Aristarchus, an Homeric student, also of Alexandria, wrote against what he called the paradox of Xenon, B. C. 156.

Nearly in this condition the Homeric problem remained till the year 1795 of the Christian era. At that time a German professor, F. A. Wolf, of Halle and Berlin, published his "Prolegomena," or introduction to his edition of Homer. He there maintained that neither the "Iliad" nor the "Odyssey" was originally indited as one poem. Each, he says, was put together from many small unwritten poems that had no common plan. "The 'Iliad' and the 'Odyssey' were first formed from these, and first written down by the commission of Pisistratus." Mr. Gladstone holds that the poems in all probability had been committed to writing before the time of Pisistratus, and that the commissioners handled them in this shape. He also believes that one and the same poet, called Homer, was the author of them both. The proofs by which he sustains his belief are exceedingly ingenious, and indeed so un-

answerable apparently that we are not surprised to find Homer's own countrymen, the persons for whom he composed, and who ought to have been his best judges, never suspecting that there could be two Homers, any more than we can suspect that there were two Shakespeares, and that creations so like one another in all their characteristics could proceed from more than one "maker."

But, while there was no dispute among the Greeks as to the authorship of the Homeric poems, there was much difference of opinion, as we all know, concerning the author's birthplace. Nothing need be said here with respect to the claims of the seven cities which contended for the honor of Homer's nativity, but considerable interest attaches itself to the inquiry whether he was an Asiatic Greek, or first saw the light on the Grecian continent, the European peninsula called Peloponnesus. Mr. Gladstone argues as strenuously for a European nativity as for the unity of authorship, although his arguments on the former point are not of equal cogency.

On the other hand, Prof. Jebb inclines to the opinion that the Homeric poems had several authors, and that they were produced in Asia Minor. All the best evidence, he says, connects Homer with Smyrna. But he is much more decided on the question of the bard's birthplace than on the question of his sole authorship.

Between the popular theory and that of Friedrich August Wolf an intermediate one was adopted by Mr. Grote, the celebrated historian of Greece. He holds, as does also Mr. Gladstone, that the title "Iliad" is a misnomer. Of course, that name was given long after the Homeric age. What names, if any, the poems bore originally we cannot tell; but Mr. Grote saw clearly that in the "Iliad" are comprised two separate stories—one describing the exploits of Achilles, and which should have been called the "Achilleid;" another, which recorded the deeds of Diomed, Ajax, Ulysses, Æneas, and the rest, who carried on the war while Achilles brooded in his tent, and to which the name "Iliad" might appropriately be applied. He perceived, moreover, that the style and manner of the "Achilleid" were superior to those of the "Iliad," which more resembled the "Odyssey" in character, and was most probably composed by the same author.

This theory of Grote has found favor in the eyes of Prof. Geddes, and he maintains it with marvelous ingenuity, exhaustive research, and great learning. His work is much larger and more elaborate than the primers of Jebb and Gladstone, but it is so full

of interest and information that not scholars only, but all cultivated readers, ought to find pleasure and profit in its pages. To any intelligent man the discussion behooves to be enticing. Curiosity ought to be aroused by the very strangeness of the thesis. By what arguments can it be proved that the "Iliad" is really two works, and that mayhap both "Iliad" and "Odyssey" are not the work of one glorious mind, but a grand mosaic of many divine fragments, as if the stars of heaven were clustered together into one orb of surpassing splendor? Can this be shown with any degree of certainty? Read Geddes and see.

The little treatise of the Glasgow professor gives an account of Greek literature from Homer's time, about 1,000 years B. C., down to the present day. As we have already said, it deals mainly with results, but the erudition of its author is so manifest that every reader will feel himself safe in trusting them. Mr. Gladstone's tract is, like all he writes, quite fascinating; and we cannot at this instant recollect three books more worthy of a place in all libraries than the three which we have thus rapidly noticed.

Although our space is exhausted, we cannot help adding that students of the present generation enjoy a priceless advantage in being furnished with primers compiled by such scholars as Prof. Jebb and the ex-Premier of England.

Since the above notices were written, we have received "A Classbook of Ancient Literature," by Dr. John D. Quackenbos, of Columbia College, which for purity of style, extent of research, and aptness of illustration, ought to take a conspicuous place among the educational helps of the day. It treats of the literature of the Orient as well as that of the Greeks and Romans, and the examples culled from the authors of ancient Egypt, Assyria, China, Persia, Hindostan, and Palestine, are presented in the most elegant translations of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The translations from Greek and Latin are equally well chosen.

3.—*D'Ancona's Italian Popular Poetry. La Poesia popolare Italiana. Studi dj* ALESSANDRO D'ANCONA. Livorno. 1878. 16mo, pp. xii.–476.

PROF. D'ANCONA, whose valuable contribution to the history of the early Italian drama was noticed in the last number of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, has rendered another great service to the literature of his country by the above work.

The popular poetry of Italy has, during the present century,

been a favorite subject of study to natives and foreigners, but the method pursued has not led, until recently, to the attainment of any important results. The poetry of various parts of the country has been collected and published for the most part in a dilettante manner, and with but little appreciation of its true value. The first scientific treatment of the subject was by Nigra, who published in the *Rivista Contemporanea*, Turin, 1858–1862, a collection of Piedmontese popular poetry, accompanying each poem with an historical introduction in regard to its subject, and giving the different versions from other provinces, with parallels from other nations. Recent collectors have followed his example, and the important collections of Pitrè,* and of Comparetti and D'Ancona,† leave nothing to desire in the way of completeness and scientific treatment. The large mass of material offered by these and previous collections has only recently been made the subject of special study. In 1875, Dr. Hugo Schuchardt, Professor of the Romance Languages at Halle, published an interesting work entitled "Ritornell und Terzine," in which he examined minutely these two characteristic forms of Italian popular poetry, and threw much light upon their origin and relation to each other. The object of the work was, however, a special and limited one. More general in its nature was an article by Nigra in the "Romania," vol. v., pp. 417–452, being the introduction to the author's long-looked-for *Canzoni popolari del Piemonte*, a part of which appeared in the *Rivista Contemporanea* above alluded to. In this article Nigra devotes most of his attention to the narrative poems of Northern Italy, and explains their rise and diffusion by an ingenious hypothesis. It was not until last year that any independent work appeared covering the whole ground when Ermolao Rubieri published his "Storia della Poesia popolare Italiana" (Florence. Barbèra. 8vo, pp. viii.–686). It is an interesting and valuable work, but devoted chiefly to the psychological and moral side of the subject. Shortly after followed the work now under consideration.

Four principal points are treated at length in D'Ancona's work: 1. The history of Italian popular poetry from the thirteenth century to the present day; 2. The substantial unity of Italian popular lyrical poetry, not only in general spirit, but also in the

* *Canti popolari Siciliani.* Palermo. 1871. 2 vols. 8vo. In *Biblioteca delle Tradizioni popolari Siciliani per cura di* Giuseppe Pitrè. Vols. I.–II.

† *Canti e Racconti del Popolo Italiano pubblicati per cura di* D. Comparetti *ed* A. D'Ancona. Turin. 1870–'78. 6 vols. 8vo.

special form of the compositions; 3. The geographical origin of the three characteristic forms of Italian popular poetry; and, 4. The relation between the popular and literary poetry. Of the three characteristic forms above mentioned, one is peculiar to narrative poetry, the other two to lyrical. The latter are the *strambotto* (in Tuscany called *rispetto*), and the *stornello* (incorrectly termed *ritornello* by many), the first consisting of a single strophe of from four to eight endecasyllabic verses with alternate rhyme in the south of Italy, and rhyme in couplets for the rest of the country, both schemes sometimes occurring in the longer *strambotti.* The *stornello* is usually found in one of three forms—three full lines, one-half line, and two full ones, or one full line and a half. The number of syllables for the full line is eleven, for the half-line six. The intermediate verse lacks, of course, a verse with which to rhyme, and is connected with the other two verses either by an agreement of the consonants following the last accented vowel (consonance), or by the agreement of these last accented vowels (assonance), or by full rhyme. In regard to the narrative poetry of the north of Italy, D'Ancona accepts Nigra's theory of its foreign (Provençal) origin. The original type of the *strambotto* is the tetrastich which is doubled in Sicily, appears in Tuscany with a refrain (*ripresa*), and is found in its simple form in Northern Italy. The *stornello* is only a condensed *strambotto,* and, as Schuchardt has shown, is related to the rhymed proverb which often assumes the form of a distich with assonance. The introductory line D'Ancona regards as a later addition, and a step toward the form of three full lines which, instead of being, as Schuchardt thinks, the model of the literary *terzina,* is modeled after it, or at least influenced by its example. The home of the *stornello* is Tuscany.

The other results of D'Ancona's studies are briefly as follows: There are in Italian popular poetry two forms, one spontaneous and more directly plebeian, although not without a certain artificial character, and a form directly artificial and literary—the former older, the latter more recent—the former going back to the earliest days of the Italian language and literature, the latter not more than three or four centuries old. The original and most copious source of both is in Sicily, which both first and last gave the imprint, not to speak of examples which are frequent. The first form was transmitted during the time when the Italians mingled more; the second, for the most part, was diffused by means of printed or manuscript collections. Although born in Sicily, the *canto* became essentially

Italian and common, but to become so it had to divest itself of its Sicilian garb. The first class spread over a great part of Italy after a stay in Tuscany, where it assumed the forms of that dialect. The second class became popular after it had been translated (probably at Naples) from the Sicilian into the cultivated and common language. These two classes constantly mingled, D'Ancona comparing them to two rivers that flow in the same direction, and often mingle their waters to separate again—but one retaining something of the flavor and odor of the other.

Such is an incomplete notice of a work that will add, if possible, to the already great reputation of the author, and prove an invaluable guide to the student of Italian popular poetry.

4.—*French Folk-lore. Mélusine. Recueil de Mythologie, Littérature populaire, Traditions et Usages, publié par* MM. Gaidoz *et* E. Rolland. Paris. 1878. 8vo, pp. 592.

The interest taken in the subject of folk-lore has largely increased during the past few years, and we have recently seen the foundation of an English Folk-lore Society and the establishment of a French periodical devoted to the same object. Unfortunately, the latter did not succeed pecuniarily, and at the expiration of the first year was discontinued. The copies remaining are now sold as a complete work, under the title at the head of this article.

Singularly enough, France has been the last country in Europe to collect the precious vestiges of its early culture which exist in its superstitions and local legends. While Germany has delighted the nursery world with its fairy-tales, which have been studied with profit by the gravest scholars, France has, until lately, almost entirely neglected this interesting field. This is all the more curious, since Charles Perrault over two centuries ago set the fashion for fairy-tales in the literary world, and was at the head of a large and brilliant school, some of the works of which are still read with pleasure.

The modern methods of scientific study have, however, given to fairy-tales and superstitions another value than that of amusement, and the wisest scholars of Europe are to-day eagerly collecting the tales and rhymes of the nursery, and the superstitions and customs of the people—in short, all the unwritten literature of the people. It is to this object, the preservation of these fragments of a fast-disappearing condition of culture, that the collection before us is devoted, and, as might be supposed, its contents are of the most

varied description. We may roughly divide them into popular tales, popular songs, customs, usages, and superstitions, and nursery-games, including riddles, etc.

The department of popular tales is represented by some forty stories from various parts of France—Brittany, Picardy, and the territory of Metz, contributing the largest number. Some of these are followed by valuable references from the pen of Reinhold Köhler, of Weimar. These stories are, of course, interesting variants of those common to the rest of Europe. Besides these French tales, there are some creole ones, and translations of English, Russian, Arabic, and Japanese stories.

There are fifty-eight *chansons*, over half accompanied by the music, thus adding greatly to their value. In the same manner as the popular tales of the Aryan peoples have been compared and found so similar as to render their common origin beyond doubt, so the popular songs of the south of Europe have been compared, and a large number have been found common to the south of Spain, the south of France, and the north of Italy. Many of these have also spread to the north of France, and the same subject is sung in Piedmont and Normandy, while striking resemblances may be found between the ballads of the south and those of the north of Europe. A few are supposed to have an historical foundation, as the celebrated *Chanson de Clothilde*, which is thought to depict the adventures of the daughter of Clovis and the wife of Amalaric, king of the Visogoths, who was murdered in the sixth century by his wife's brother, Childebert, for his cruel treatment of her. More likely this *chanson* (which is found also in Italy) is only a poetical version of the story of Blue-beard. A somewhat similar story is found in the *chanson* of "The Cruel Husband" (*Le Mari cruel*), *Mélusine*, p. 415.

The department of customs, usages, and superstitions, is well represented; three articles are devoted to those peculiar to the Vosges, four to the medical superstitions of the Franche-Comté, etc. The student of primitive culture will find many examples to add to those already collected by Tylor. Some of the examples of survival are very interesting. One will suffice. In Normandy it was, until lately, the custom on the eve of All-souls-day (November 2d) to prepare a supper, putting soup in the plates and cider in the glasses, and then, after opening the windows, to withdraw and allow the souls of deceased relatives to come and partake of the banquet. This custom of "Feasts of the Dead" is common to

many savage tribes, and was observed in the classic world. The only difference between the Roman Feralia and Lemuralia and the Christian All-souls-day is the date. In Normandy it is the custom to kill a cock, and sprinkle some drops of its blood on the sill of a new house before inhabiting it. This is a survival of the custom of immuring a victim in the foundation of a building (*see* Tylor's "Primitive Culture," vol. i., p. 94, etc.).

A curious department is that of *formulettes*, or formulas, used in games, etc. One of the most common objects is that of elimination, or, as the children say, to show who shall be "it."

Games, proverbs, spells, etc., are not wanting, Among the miscellaneous articles, the most valuable is a dictionary of names given to the inhabitants of different localities in France. It has been compiled by Lucien Merlet, and runs through many numbers.

It is greatly to be regretted that the *Mélusine* was not able to continue its career as a periodical, but it will always be a valuable mine for the student of folk-lore.

5.—*The Troubadours: a History of Provençal Life and Literature in the Middle Ages.* By Francis Hueffer. London: Chatto & Windus. 1878. 8vo, pp. xviii.–367.

While the interest in Provençal literature has been steadily increasing among scholars during the last ten years, very little has been done to bring it to the notice of the general reader. Although the subject is especially adapted to close scientific study, it still has a popular attractive side, and only needs to be presented in the right way to find a host of appreciative readers. The period during which the troubadours flourished is one of the most brilliant in modern history, and is full of romantic episodes. Provençal literature was not restricted to the south of France, but the troubadour was welcomed from the court of Aragon to the court of Frederick II., at Palermo. Nor was the period of its splendor a restricted one; it flourished three centuries, and then fell with the liberty of the country that had given it birth.

Until recently the general reader has had at his disposal only Sismondi's meagre account of Provençal literature, who, like most later writers, drew heavily on Millot's imperfect "Histoire des Troubadours." The only other general histories are those of Fauriel ("Histoire de la Poésie Provençale," 3 vols., Paris, 1847) and Diez ("Poesie der Troubadours" and "Leben und Werke der Troubadours," Zwickau, 1826, 1829). The former is largely occupied with

the now exploded theory of an extensive Provençal epical poetry, while the latter are more works of reference than readable histories. In English there are before Hueffer's work only two books on the subject: Rutherford's "The Troubadours," London, 1873; and Miss Preston's "Troubadours and Trouvères," Boston, 1876.* The former is an utterly unreliable production, revealing on every page the gross ignorance and coarseness of the writer; the latter is much better, but is too limited in its plan, and the author is not thoroughly at home in her subject.

It will be seen, from this brief review, that there was room for a good popular history of Provençal literature, and, although Dr. Hueffer's work is far from perfect, it is immeasurably superior to the works last mentioned.

Dr. Hueffer's object, as stated in the preface, is "rather to attract learners than to teach more or less proficient students. In plain language I wished, in the first instance, to write a readable book, and according to general prejudice such an achievement is impossible on the scientific principle." In pursuance of this object, the author divides his work into three parts: In the first, "General," he gives a rather meagre sketch of the language, and then examines more or less thoroughly the various forms of Provençal poetry and prose. The second part, "Biographical," contains sketches of some of the most interesting troubadours, although we miss such famous poets as Bernard de Ventadour, Marcabrun, etc. The third part, "Technical," added, as the author states, "for scholarly purposes," consists of chapters on rhyme, rhythm, the stanza, and some interlinear versions, "addressed to those easy-going amateur philologists who believe themselves able to master a language by simply plunging into its literature, without any previous study of grammar or dictionary."

While the author has succeeded, we think, in producing a readable work, his book shows unmistakable signs of haste and lack of study of the sources. The first is shown in the unmethodical arrangement of the matter, and the frequent violation of chronological order; the latter is curiously shown on page 138, where the author cites a French version of a German translation of a Provençal poem, instead of giving an English version direct from the Provençal. In spite of these blemishes, which we trust will be corrected in another edition, Dr. Hueffer has produced an interesting and valuable book that will attract readers whom a more learned and methodical work would have repelled.

* *See* North American Review, March, 1877.

6.—*Lectures upon the Assyrian Language and Syllabary; delivered to the Students of the Archaic Classes.* By Rev. A. H. Sayce, M. A., Deputy Professor of Comparative Philology, Oxford. London: Samuel Bagster & Sons. 1877. 4to, pp. viii.–157.

The classes in ancient Egyptian-Assyrian carried on in London for two years by the Society of Biblical Archæology are not likely to make either study popular, but they have given origin to several valuable elementary books, of which the last and least elementary is A. H. Sayce's "Lectures upon the Assyrian Language and Syllabary," published by Samuel Bagster & Sons. Mr. Sayce, though a venturesome scholar, who is apt to see a plausible conjecture as a probable if not certain fact, has confined himself in most of these nine lectures to the region of the better known in Assyrian studies, as was proper in addressing immature students. The character and origin of the syllabary and the laws of Assyrian phonology with the elements of Assyrian grammar are developed, and made as plain and interesting as is well possible with such a subject. He insists wisely that the first thing the student has to do is to commit to memory the characters in common use. The best preliminary, he says, to the study of Assyrian is "to learn as perfectly as possible the different characters and ideographs, with all their varying powers, which are prefixed to the first volume of Mr. Norris's dictionary." When it is remembered that there are three hundred and sixty of these given by Mr. Norris, and that many of them have from three to eight or ten different values assigned to them, the task of learning the syllabary, assigned as the mere beginning, is seen to be not a light one. Mr. Sayce also shows himself a wise adviser in insisting that his pupils shall understand that there is its special meaning to each inflectional form in Assyrian as well as in the classical languages. There has been too much of a hap-hazard translation, as if it did not make much difference what form a verb might have. This nice discrimination may, however, be carried too far, and our author appears to be guilty of this fault in the very illustration which he draws from the Hebrew of the first two verses of Genesis. It may be that their sense is, "In the beginning God hewed out the heaven and the earth: now the earth had been waste and desolate, and darkness on the face of the deep; and the Spirit of God was ever brooding on the face of the waters;" but it is a grammatical hardihood to assure us that it is now known that the tense form of the verbs and the order of the words require just this

new and very seductive translation. As we have suggested, the reader of these lectures needs to be on his guard not on the principles illustrated in these lectures, for they are well and accurately stated, but on the illustrations in which Mr. Sayce's natural desire to bring forward what is original leads him at times to present as a fact, or, at least as very probable, what may not bear investigation. Thus the derivation of the Hebrew *bamah*, a high place, from the root of *bô*, to come, in the method described is extremely problematical. We might say as much for the source and force of what he calls the case endings of verbs, page 86; and there are many such cases in the last lecture in which the relation between Assyrian and Accadian is discussed. Thus from Accadian *ma-da* he supposes the Assyrian *matu*, a country, to be borrowed. The Aramæans also, he says (page 144), have the form *mata*, "from which we must infer that the borrowing had taken place before the separation of the northern Semitic tribes." It is a very heavy deduction to rest upon such a correspondence that before the Shemitic languages had brôken up, indeed, before there was a separate Assyrian, and for aught we know before there was any Accadian, the Shemitic northern tongue borrowed this word from the Accadian, and that without evidence that it exists in other Shemitic languages. The Aramaic might very easily have borrowed the word at a comparatively late period from its next neighbor the Assyrian, as Aramaic was a language of trade in Assyria, and indeed Mr. Sayce suggests this very explanation in a note only five pages earlier. We have to thank the author for a very valuable and important contribution under this modest form to philology. Mr. Sayce has become one of our best students in a department which attracted his juvenile essays twenty years ago in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, in unequal debate with the veterans Dr. Hincks and Mr. Norris.

7.—*Elements of Political Economy.* By Arthur Latham Perry, LL. D., Orrin Sage Professor of History and Political Economy in Williams College. New edition. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1878. 8vo, pp. xiv.–607.

The air of Western Massachusetts has been very friendly to clear and strong thinking. Williamstown has had its full share of the gift, and the dialectic ability which Presidents Griffin and Mark Hopkins put forth in their theology is now held good by professors in the new sciences of Nature and Society. Prof. Perry's book, which is quite a new one in this present form, calls out his powers

and learning both as an historian and a philosopher, since his scholarship is as fresh and original as his thinking. The historical portions, such as the introductory sketch of the progress of the science and the passages upon American tariffs and money in the United States, are very carefully studied and valuable. He claims originality less for specific parts of his book than for its whole drift, while he regards himself as the author of one important improvement in the language of political economy, the substitution of *value* for the word *wealth*, which he never uses in the technical sense.

Prof. Perry takes his place in the third of the three great classes of modern political economy, which are called by the names of Quesnay, Adam Smith, and Whately, and which insist severally upon land and labor and exchange as the sources of value. While American economists follow Smith or else quit the track of severe science to accept the Nationalist School of Henry C. Carey, the author follows in the path of Whately, Bastiat, and others, who put the field of the science in the science of exchanges or the doctrine of values. While the science of ethics deals with what *ought* to be, political economy deals with *value*. With him political economy is the science of value, and of nothing else. But of course everything comes into it, so far as it has value, and the *ought* of conscience is not *naught* in value, we may say, because character is a part of capital and credit, and a day's work is what it is very much by the honest purpose that goes into it.

Value is defined to be what a thing *will pass for*, and it is always and everywhere the relation of mutual purchase established between two services by their exchange. Ownership or property is transferred by the exchange of values, and the persons making the exchange render a specific service according as they exchange a commodity, as a pencil, a personal service, as a day's work, or a claim, as a United States bond, for a supposed equivalent in one of these three classes, or for a commodity, a service, or a claim. This analysis brings us directly to persons, as the central point of the science, and makes things, however essential, subordinate to persons. *Value* is the relation of mutual purchase established between two services, and *price* is its purchasing power expressed in money. The one universal law of value is the law of *demand* and *supply:* demand being the desire of purchasing something coupled with the power of purchasing it; and supply being any exchangeable thing offered for sale against any other exchangeable thing. Market value is the equation of supply and demand; and the money offered

for commodities always constitutes a demand. Exchange is the life of trade, and freedom of exchange secures the final triumph of civilization in its three great struggles for rights of person, opinion, and property.

We can only give the gist of the author's science in the briefest terms, and commend his book to all who wish to know the details of his system. He defines production as the getting something ready to sell, and selling it, and he looks upon inventions as increasing production, yet tending to lessen the value of particular services. Labor is physical or mental effort, which demands return in wages, and bad money is worse for wages than profits, but is bad enough for both. All capital is products saved for further use in production. The more capital, the higher the rate of wages and the lower the profits. War destroys capital, communism threatens it, strikes impair it, while peace and good-will reduplicate it. Land is a commodity made such by human efforts ; and its sale, its produce, and its rent, come under the ordinary rules of value. Cost of production is the measure of one effort in one class of exchanges, and its two elements are cost of labor and of capital.

The author is strong on money, which he distinguishes from all other values in that it is a legal and current measure of services. Gold is the best standard, but silver may be subsidiary, while paper-money is only the promise to pay coin, and not the best money, as a promise may be broken. Credits are rights not yet realized, therefore an important part of economics, and good bankers are great benefactors. Trade should be as free as possible, that all values may be fairly exchanged. Taxation is the topic last treated, and the author favors the taxes that are laid most directly in proportion to the gains of exchanges or the actual value of property. He thinks an income-tax not objectionable in principle, and he is decidedly in favor of reducing our tariff laws to the principle of our internal revenue system, which rests upon low taxes on comparatively few things.

Thus we have given a careful outline of this important book, which may have some doubtful statements, but which as a whole is a treasure of learning and good sense, as precious in itself as wholesome in view of the rampant folly of popular fallacies in economics. There is something to be added to Prof. Perry's principles of political economy, for all science opens upon a corresponding art, and the science of values has its art which belongs to its essential principles and gives it the force and beauty which mere analysis lacks.

8.—*Deterioration and Race Education. With Practical Application to the Condition of the People and Industry.* By Samuel Royce. Boston: Lee & Shepard. New York: Charles J. Dillingham. 1878. 12mo, pp. 585.

The evident earnestness of the author of this volume and the zeal of its benevolent distributor, Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson, entitle it to a fair examination. It is surely well worth reading, and it ought to make its mark upon public opinion, while in some respects it deserves the notice of well-informed and thoughtful men. The author would have done wisely if he had kept it a little longer on hand and arranged his ample material more thoroughly and pointed his conclusions more distinctly; but his book as it is has great value, and it cannot fail to do good, especially in its bold and strong conflict with the narrowness of our dominant schooling and the rabid radicalism of our labor-reformers. The table of contents is of itself a fair expression of the author's way of mixing many things together without definite classification, and of leaving his reader to trace his way for himself. Ninety topics are named in one continuous list in this table, and the view is quite confused in the reader's mind until he does what we have done—until he takes out his pencil and writes here and there the proper figure from one to eight against the rightful headings, so as to make it appear that there are eighty-two topics to be considered under eight distinct divisions. These divisions or parts are "Race Deterioration," "Heredity," "Kindergarten," "The Progress of Civilization," "The Progress of General Education," "The People and their Homes," "The Scourges of Humanity," "The Need of the Nation," the fifth and the last topics occupying the largest spaces. Yet these various topics are not kept wholly apart from each other, and the author constantly strikes into his favorite ideas, and mixes up the last with the first and the first with the last, while he never fails to make some headway, and he comes out under his own colors at the end. In one respect he is a brave leader, indeed, for with all his plain speeches he is no pessimist, and under the darkest cloud his faith is bright and strong. He seems to start with the idea that the human race on the whole is losing ground and running down, and that this deterioration of the race must be met by a new education that looks to nothing short of race education, alike in physical and moral and intellectual respects. He says in so many words:

"The whole of our civilization is a series of life-deteriorating processes. There is not a relation in life but tends toward race deterioration; and like

past nations and civilizations we dig our own grave, if we fail to oppose to this degenerating tendency an education which is a persistent system of race amelioration, inspired by the spirit of altruism, the saving genius of the race, and the only possible correction of an age selfish to the core."

In other passages he recognizes the progress of the race in our time, as when, in describing the emancipation of mechanical labor from slavery and ignorance, he declares that continuance in this course by closer connection of industry with science and humanity will reduce the mortality of laborers in the land by at least 50,000 and the cases of sickness by 750,000 yearly. In some instances his statistics do not warrant his conclusion, as when he quotes the number of the deaf and dumb, the blind and the insane, in Europe and America, as proof of degeneracy in the race, when these numbers may indicate more accurate reports or more humane and life-preserving treatment, or in some cases they may be but a repetition essentially of the old story of human sin and suffering. In some respects he is on firm ground in dealing with the degeneracy of our age, as when he points out the dangers of our industrial ways of overcrowding factories and dwellings, and putting women and children to improper or excessive work. One of the best ideas in the volume is thus expressed: "The man who could discover a mode of combining manufacturing skill with isolated labor and country residence would do a greater service to humanity than the whole race of philosophers."

What we miss in this elaborate and honest and wholesome book, which we commend heartily to general attention, is a careful study of the peculiar characteristics of our age and an analysis of its besetting evils; also a philosophical statement of the true race education, with a fair appreciation of physiology and medicine, and a just recognition of the great moral and spiritual convictions that bind man to man in lifting him up to God. The author himself is right-minded, but he is not in all respects master of the social science which he honestly seeks, and he too often mistakes words for things. The great work of Prof. Oettinger, of Dorpat, on "Moral-Statistik," might help him much in the new edition, which we hope to welcome.

9.—*Studio, Field, and Gallery: A Manual of Painting for the Student and Amateur, with Information for the General Reader.* By HORACE J. ROLLIN. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1878. 12mo, pp. 207.

THIS carefully-studied manual of painting meets a decided want of our people, and it is one of the many signs of the progress of art-

education among us somewhat in keeping with that of scientific education. Heretofore there has been a great difference between art and science in respect to general study. While it has been thought necessary for every well-taught person to know the general principles of science so as to act according to them in the care of health and property and the regulation of life, art has been left mainly to specialists, as if it belonged only to a few professors, and were of no importance to men generally, except perhaps as far as it is needed in order to make them enjoy the luxury of good works of art. There is certainly no good ground for such a distinction, for a well-educated man ought to see the beauty as well as the truth of things, and in all that he does he ought to act with the readiness of touch and the discrimination and taste which art-knowledge and practice give. If education enables us to express ourselves properly and fully, surely we need to bring form and color, light and shade, to help out our description; and to paint, draw, and even to model, is but an extension of speech and writing. The use of such art is as constant as conversation or composition; and he who masters the elements of art-expression needs no more to set up to be an original artist than the boy who learns to read and write sets up to be a Homer or Demosthenes.

Mr. Rollin has done his best to bring together the main principles and rules of painting, and he has added to these a great deal of useful information as to painters and pictures. He has more value as a patient observer and a diligent collector than as an original thinker. He fails to give us a satisfactory definition of true art, and his list of artists as being either idealists, naturalists, or mannerists, does not set before us the true consummation of the ideal and actual in genuine realism. Yet he has a great deal of sagacity as well as knowledge, and he is, moreover, quite a character in his way of combining wholesome advice with artistic instruction. Our friends of the studio will forgive him for advising them not to paint on Sunday, and not to use liquor, opium, tobacco, or other stimulants and narcotics, so long as he keeps so sharp an eye on other professions, and hints that doctors bury their mistakes underground, and lawyers keep theirs from the light by the law's delay, while the painter's bad work is done in open day.

The positive and exact information in this book must commend it to a large circle of readers, and make it very useful in schools. The chapters on color and on effect are spirited as well as thoughtful, and give help to the practical observer of Nature as well as the amateur.

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